Football Premiership: Blackburn 3 Leeds 4

Rovers' return is blocked by Leeds

David Lacey

B LACKBURN Rovers' hopes of resuming the game of leapfrog with Manchester United at the top of the Premiership that eventually brought the cham-pionship to Ewood Park three seasons ago stalled last Sunday when they lost a frenetic bout of snakes and ladders to Leeds United.

For the second time this season Ewood Park found itself knee-deep in goals, all seven arriving in the opening 32 minutes. Four weeks earlier, Blackburn led Sheffield Wednesday 5-1 at half-time and went on to win 7-2. Last Sunday Leeds, having established a 4-3 lead, organised themselves better defensively in the second half, especially during the last 12 minutes after Harry Kewell, their 18-year-old Australian winger, was sent off.

Blackburn's first defeat under Roy Hodgson leaves them in second place, three points behind United. Leeds have shot up from 17th to ninth after ending a run of three defeats, and no goals scored, with an imaginative altacking performance to mark George Graham's first year to dispel the feeling that much of in charge. Had the game continued in the

vein of the opening half-hour the result would have looked more like a rugby score. In this period the

by quick, skilful forwards who could dart between wooden defenders -Rod Wallace and Jimmy Floyd Hasselbaink for Leeds, Martin Dahlin and Kevin Gallacher for Blackburn.

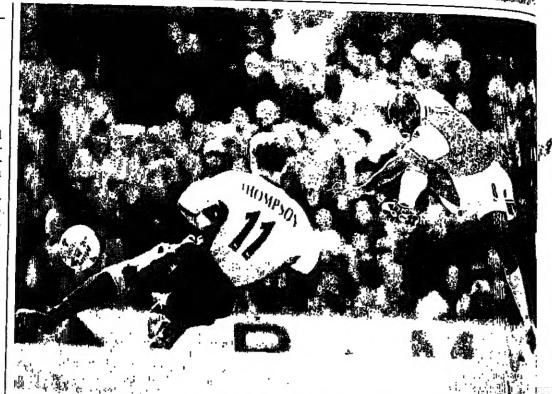
The eccentricities of the defending were at times reflected in the refereeing of Steve Dunn, who seemed far readier to book and dismiss players than award some of the season's more obvious penalties. Perversely, the one Dunn gave was more questionable than those he

The match had a grim little cameo involving Robert Molenaar, Leeds's Dutch defender, and Chris Sutton. Molenaar, built like a hucker-out at one of Amsterdam's dodgier nightclubs, fouled Sutton consistently and was eventually cautioned a few seconds after hurting a knee in a tackle with the same

Molenaar stayed off for the second half. Had he stayed on Leeds would surely have been a man short sooner than they were.

Both teams were committed to attack. Yet the freedom with which the defending in the Premiership is way below the standards of the old First Division

Nevertheless, the spectacle was entertaining in its madcap way, and several of the goals were superbly The shortcomings at the back taken. Only the first, which arrived were even more ruthlessly exposed I in the third minute when Wallace



Top Gunner: Ian Wright scores the first of his three goals in the 4-1 defeat of Bolton that saw the Assal striker break the club's 51-year-old goal-scoring record of 178 set by Cliff Bastin

Golf Lancôme Trophy

David Davies

in St Nom-la-Bretëche

competing, sent all the right

signals home when he won

at the end of this month the

40-year-old beat a European

contingent of six, with the best

the Lancôme Trophy here last

Sunday. With the matches due to

take place in Valderrama, Spain,

pounced after Tim Flowers failed to hold a downward header from Hasselbaink, could even be partly blamed on a goalkeeper, and the crossfield pass from Gunnar Halle, sending Kewell to the left-hand byline for the centre, was memorable

Poor Blackburn marking at a corner allowed Molenaar to increase Leeds's lead three minutes later, but the Dutchman's half-volley was excellent. Within a minute Gallacher met Molennar's clearance to beat Nigel Martyn with a resounding

On the quarter-hour Molennar 1 David Hopkin, who restored b appeared, for once, to be the innoteam's two-goal lead. cent party as Dahlin fell over trying

When Dahlin scored Blackbar to turn him. But the penalty was third two minutes past the legiven and Sutton brought the scores hour, spinning off Molenzartob: level. Later, fouls in the area on Martyn, Ewood began anticipaign Dahlin, by Halle and Molenaar, famous Blackburn victory, But at along with Colin Hendry's trip on Lucas Radebe back alongside Dr Wallace, went unpunished. Wetherall in defence, Leeds kee In the 17th minute Kewell's run at much tighter at the back. the Blackburn defence left Wallace

Even after Kewell, has? o regain the lead for Leeds with ooked in the first half for a fedanother outstanding shot. Five min-Gallacher, was dismissed for inutes later, Hasselbaink drew the dewasting at a free-kick, Blacks fence on to him as one man before still could not open up Leeds as the slipping the ball to an unmarked

TheGuardian Weekly

Vol 157, No 13 Week ending September 28, 1997



Police officers remove protesters from the rail track close to the nuclear power plant of Kruemmel, near Geesthacht in northern Germany, last Sunday after several hundred people tried to damage the rails to revent used nuclear fuel being shipped from the plant

The Abrillia with that In Illiania Clinton rejects UN plea to pay dues

an Black in New York

OFI ANNAN, the United Nations secretary-general, made an impassioned appeal to member states this week to back his reform plans and pay their dues, but he was immediately rebuffed by President Bill Clinton, who Insisted on a new financial deal.

Seeking to inject a note of urgency at the start of the annual three-week debate by the General Assembly on Monday, Mr Annan called for a "reform assembly" that would "reimagine the role of the UN, giving it new life for the new century".

Opening his first General Assembly debate, Mr Annan said: "When I launched my reform plan, I pledged to narrow the gap between aspiration and achievement at the United Nations. I say to you today that we must close another gap; between the rhetoric and the reality of a common world.

"Now I ask you, the member states, to act. Some of you I ask to do what your legal obligations require: to liquidate your arrears and to pay your future assessments in

full, on time and without conditions." But Mr Clinton ignored his plea, repeating only that he would work to "pay off the bulk" of the United States' \$1.6 billion arrears, although he is unlikely to go beyond the \$800-\$900 million offer already re-

iected as "half a loaf". The president had little choice but to praise the "remarkable" \$1 billion gift made last week by the media mogul Ted Turner - an embarrassing contrast to what is widely seen as Uncle Sant's parsimony. The founder of CNN, whose wealth was estimated at \$3.2 billion before his donation to the UN, challenged

other billionaires to follow suit. Mr Clinton praised Mr Annan, but refused to accept his terms. This year we have an opportunity to put the question of debts and dues behind us once and for all and to put the United Nations on a sounder financial footing for the

uture," he said. "I have made it a priority to work with our Congress on legislation that would allow us to pay off the bulk of our arrears and assure full financing of America's assessment in the years ahead . . . At the same time we look to member states to adopt a more equitable scale of

assessment." Congress wants the US contribution reduced from 25 per cent to 20 per cent of the total budget — an idea rejected even by loyal allies such as Britain. The UK Forcign Secretary, Robin Cook, was ex-pected to urge prompt and uncondi-tional payment in his General Assembly speech on Tuesday and is likely to speak more strongly in private talks with the US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright.

If the debate goes well, Mr. Annan

will win authority from the assem bly for more control over his budcreate a development fund.

Meanwhile members of the UN Security Council were due to hold urgent consultations after Arab states voted to defy the international community and ignore sanctions imposed on Libya because of the Lockerbie bombing.

Mr Annan was said to be furious about last Saturday's surprise Arab xague decision. Diplomats called it "major problem" and said it could undermine other controversial UN

sanctions, such as those against Irao. The Arab League explicitly called on its 21 members to ease the 1992 air embargo — part of a wider package of sauctions - by allowing humanitarian and religious flights in and out of Libya. It also invited them to lift a freeze on Libyan bank accounts, except for oil funds.

In the past, some Arab countries have ignored the ban or insisted that Libya had acted unilaterally in breaching it, but the UN will clearly have to confront the decision. "The credibility of the Security Council is on the line," one UN official said.

Arab resentment at the Libyan sanctions has been building up, but the US and Britain, the leading "hawks", have given no sign of back ing down. Arab countries, especially Egypt, are frustrated by the firm Anglo-American rejection of a over for trial in a neutral state.

The sanctions were imposed in 1992 because of Muammar Gadafy's refusal to hand over two Libyan intelligence officers wanted by the US and Britain in connection with the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in Decem-ber 1989, which killed 270 people.

Smog chokes Asian archipelago

Business crushing 5 Russian press

Welsh split on assembly plan

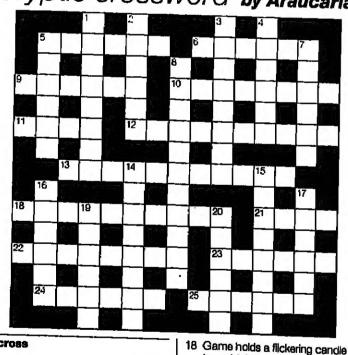
Chemical firms control food chain

Women call the shots in Ireland

Austria Belgium Denmark Finland AS30 BF75

Netherlands G 4.75 DK18 Novvay NK 16 FM 10 Portugal E300 FF 13 Seucl Ayable SR 6.50 DM.4 Spain P 300 DR 450 Sweden SK 19 L 3,000 Bwitzerland SF 3.30

Cryptic crossword by Araucaria



to an idol (6.4)

21,14 down 5 down's work, in fact,

move towards socialism? (4,4)

23 Bird with divinity and intelligence

25 Female was governor of church

Union takes bearing starting

with 1000, not 100 (8)

set out differently (4,3,5)

22 Abandoned performance in

24 Quote again before 11? (6)

across the water (6)

- 5 Pollution goes way out of London — there's a little in Scotland (6)
- 6 Feast for the wretched, eating before the starter (6) 9 Complete list of mineral
- deposits in the Islands? (6) 10.11 I race with a pair to form part of such as . . . (8,4) 12 . . . Channel Islands flag

wrapped in dummy by 5 down

13 With entry of football club involved or not, the trick is temperance (4-7)

- 2 A worthy lot with a lot to First division in the ring? (8)
- extremes (6)
- that's affected (6) 7 Want to climb a steeple? (6)
- when out of order (6)

Last week's solution

Lament security surrounding bridge partners (6)

Salzburg man promoting "Car round Australia" (6) Delicacy isn't common in its

B 5 down's lover's wrongdoing with eggs upset pub (3,8)

15 O for a chance to go West! (8) 16 Regrets work exalted by one

19 Remove the aide-de-camp 20 25's paper's 1 is 5 down's (6)

of them, Lee Westwood, six O'Meara's total of 271, 13 under par, was one better than that of Jarmo Sandelin, a Swede who began with three bogeys in his first four holes and then played the remainder in seven

The Australians Greg Norman, World No 1, and Pote O'Malley, the world No 101, shared third place.

O'Meara, who has won twice in the United States this year, took his second tournament in Europe; the previous one was a Lawrence Batley event in 1987. He looked close to cracking in the last two holes when he drove deep into the woods on the left at the 17th. But he was fortunate to have a shot out, hit an approach on to the back fringe and hole from 35 feet for a par. At the short 18th he missed

O'Meara's Ryder warning the pin. But he hit a little chip over a bunker that almost west in the hole, finishing three inches away, and that gave bis

ARK O'MEARA, the only American Ryder Cup player The six surviving Ryder Co players met with mixed fortuge on the final day. Westwood was the best of them, with a boger free 67 for 277, but Ian Woos nam und Jeaper Parnevik bet 73s for level par, 284. Woods said: "Those were four of the worst rounds that I've played years. I'm going back to my old clubs next week and I will be

using them at Valderrams." Per-Ulrik Johansson's 72, for 280, was disappointing and Colin Montgomerle was very unhappy with 69, for 281, 39 my standards," said the Scott man, "that was a poor perfer

mance. But it was not bad enough it relieve him of No 1 ranking in Europe thanks to an extraordinary lapse by Bernhan Langer at the innocuous 9th drive and pitch for these plate The only trouble is a snial. pond to the left of the green and Langer, normally reliable found it twice to run up a quadruple-bogey eighti

His 75 for 279 meanthed not finish far enough sheat Montgomerie to wipe out the \$10,000 he was behind at the

Doctors to be guinea pigs | Solidarity wins in trials of HIV vaccine

Martin Kettle in Washington

AN INTERNATIONAL group of doctors said this week it would try to accelerate the fight against Aids by volunteering to become human guinea pigs in a trial of a vaccine containing the HIV virus.

The announcement immediately triggered extensive offers from nembers of the United States public to join the volunteer group. Some 50 members from several countries of the Chicago-based International Association of Physi-

cians in Aids Care said that they had signed a pledge offering themselves as volunteers in tests of the attenuated viral vaccine, a genetically weakened version of the vaccine.

Other Aids charities immediately group insisted that its proposal was: not a publicity stunt. "We cannot sit around after 16 years and continue to debate how quickly we can do trials," said Gordon Nary, the association's executive director and one

There are 8,000 new cases of Aids a day, and 1,000 children a day are born with the disease," he said. "A vaccine is the only significant type of scientific intervention that is going to have any impact."

Dr Nary said the group had been swamped with offers to join the programme. Alds organisations were ompiling lists. "It has touched a nerve among the public," he said.

Alds vaccine development is a

measures and rigorous animal testing which are observed before humans are injected with a trial vaccine. Research in the past decade has tended to focus on vaccines which do not involve a live strain of the HIV virus, because of fears that

Aids or other complications. Advocates of the human guinea pig programme say Dr. Ronald Desrosiers, of the Harvard Medical School, has developed a vaccine that seems to protect monkeys from the primate-equivalent of HIV. The group wants to use that vaccine in

even a weakened strain might cause

We are not calling for a trial tomorrow, or even the next day," the Chicago group's deputy director, Joe Zuniga, said on Monday. "We urged caution. But the Chicago want there to be enough safety and family values and promised harm anybody." But Dr Zuniga said that "bold steps should be taken while observing good science".

The researchers will have to obtain permission from the federal Food and: Drug Administration (FDA) before going ahead with the plan on a nationwide basis. It may, however, be legal to proceed within the state of Illinois - whose laws govern Chicago — more quickly. Another option is to conduct the research outside the US.

The Chicago group, wants after proyal from the National Institutes of Health and the FDA But the volunteers made clear that they la tended to find a way of going ahead slow process because of the safety | with the experiment anyway.

back power

THE revamped Solidarity movement emerged the clear victor from last Sunday's parliamentary elections in Poland, with about 34 per cent of the vote against the ruling excommunist Democratic Left Alliance's (SLD) 26.5 per cent, writes Neil Bowder in Warsaw The poll showed the pro-

coming a strong third with nearly 14 per cent of the vote. The result, if confirmed later this week, is a spectacular success for Solidarity Electoral Action (AWS), a loose alliance between Solidarity and a host of

market Freedom Union (UW)

small anti-communist parties. The pact campaigned for a renewal of traditional Catholic protocols in place for this not to the decommunisation of publiclife. It also promised to enfranchise the poor in the country's . free-market economy and to hal It was a personal victory for

> the AWS leader, the trade union chlef Marian Krzaklewski, whose dist of populist economics and anti-communist invective raised eyebrows and provoked. criticism from the liberal press. · But it appeared to be precisely what was required to snatch lastminute votes from the agrarian Polish Peasants' Party and the nationalist Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland,...

Comment, page 12

10 23 25

300

the green and was 18 yards from © Guardian Publications Ltd., 1997. Published by Guardian Publications Ltd., 164 Deansgate, Manchester, M60 2RR, and printed by WCP Commercial Printing, Leek. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and mailing offices. Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.

E IGHTEEN years of arrogant one-party government, during beginning. which time the people of Scotland were used as guinea pigs for the imposition of a head tax that proved just as unpopular south of the bor-der, has been fully rewarded with a decisive vote in favour of a Scottish parliament (Scotland says a resounding Yes, September 21). The Conservative party has now suffered two crushing defeats at the hands of an electorate that has this is the perfect opportunity to lay never taken to the main tenets of

If its new leader is ever to regain credibility for his party, he must realise that the people of Scotland are now masters of their own destiny over vast areas of governance hitherto the exclusive reserve of Westminster WR Jackson,

West Bridgford, Nottinghan

Scotland Forward united those who were campaigning for a Yes vote to a Scottish parliament - but its membership did not include political parties alone. A whole range of campaign groups—
including the Campaign for a Scottish Parliament, Charter 88 ScotOf progress land and Democracy for Scotland - were also members of Scotland

It is at least in part the activities of these groups that put pressure on the Labour government to set a date for the Scottish referendum so soon after winning the election. And it is popular pressure that will go on | Malaysia and Singapore (Forests of reminding the Government at Westminster, as well as those MPs elected to our new parliament here in Scotland, to continue reforming of upland farmers throughout the

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Sccretary, Charter 88 Scotland,

V tax-raising parliament in the knowledge that the outcome is likely to be an increase in direct taxation for redistributive purposes, to rest once and for all the myth of Scottish stinginess. Walter Cairns,

I WOULD like to express a personal debt of gratitude to Margaret Thatcher. Over 20 years, by her words and her actions, she did more to galvanise and unite the Scottish people than any other person since Edward Plantagenet in the late 13th century.

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of progress

ROBERT KAISER correctly mentions burning in the plantation industry and by lowland rice farmers as factors contributing to the present sickly smoke haze that hangs over much of Indonesia, Borneo going up in smoke, September 14). However, mention should also be made of the millions our democracy. A parliament for l region who use fire to convert

Tick box if this is a renewal order 🔾

... Card explry date

IT TURNS out that the "tigers" of Asia and Latin America were merely pet kittens of capitalism. In Asia they served the dual purpose of providing cheap labour and sites for military bases to ring China. Mexicu and Brazil only provided the The Guardian

In addition, both have served as a lure — dangled before the neo-élite of the "need-based" countries - to follow the greed-based capitalist form of development regardless of the consequences to the poverty-

ods developed for use by the

surplus-ridden economies of Europe

among Southeast Asia's poorest

farmers, who remain isolated from

the region's recent economic devel-

opment. Yet, without access to min-

eral fertilisers, farmers will continue

to slash and burn their way through

the remains of Southeast Asia's

tropical forest treasures.
Asia's leaders should read with

care the messages contained in

their farmers' smoke signals if the

present environmental disaster is to

A SINGLE issue of your paper

enviously praising the economic success of East Asian countries

(Education ethos fails practical test)

and, on another page, one saying

that the environment in Asian coun-

tries is the worst in the world. The

two stories complement each other:

the "success" of the tiger economies

has been at the expense of their environment. (Sadly Asian corpora-tions have helped finance similar

destruction in many Third World

There is an urgent need to stop

talking about "economic success" in

the abstract and to start thinking

about how to succeed in improving

the quality of life of all people.

Christchurch, New Zealand

(September 14) has an article

be avoided in future.

(Dr) Thomas Fairhurst,

stricken masses.

The inevitable collapse of these artificially overheated economics, which opened their doors to multinationals, has resulted in these tigers becoming an endangered species that now need to be kept alive by the injection of IMF funds. N H Antia,

Bombay, India

The present and the past

T IS a bit rich for the British prime minister's speech-writer to insist that unions modernise along the lines of the Labour party (TUC "must modernise", September 21). One can only assume that the scribbler was one of the more jejune members of his backroom staff for whom even recent history is an annoving irrelevance, or who may still have been in school when Labour's union affiliates initiated and paid for the party's organisational reforms in the 1980s - a precondition of

Tony Blair's subsequent success. In many respects, it was the unions' own modernisation which prompted and inspired Labour's structural reforms. The TUC's re | Norman Temple: launch and restructuring followed a | Edmonton, Canada

fallow vegetation into ash to propionecring strategic review conducted through the Cranfield vide their subsistence crops with School of Management. In many Many international advisers conother respects, unions have been tinue to promote "low external ahead of Labour in using innovative input" and "organic" farming methmanagement techniques and mar-

> organisational reforms.
> The TUC lacks the directive powers and sanctions available to the Labour leadership, The trade union movement is considerably more complex and diverse than any politi cal party, and reforming and reviv-ing organised labour is an altogether more daunting task than many can imagine Michael Allen,

keting strategies and adopting

Cranfield School of Munagement. Cranfield, Bedford

IONATHAN FREEDLAND'S char-Jacterisation of Tony Blair's first 100 days in office (Blair juggernaut buffets friends and foes alike, August 17) raises disturbing historical echoes. Are we in fact on the eve of the 21st century or are we in the early 1930s? Is the government really "New Labour" or is it a "National" coalition? Is Mr Blair the prime minister, or is it the ghosts of Ramsay MacDonald and Stanley Baldwin uncomfortably merged in one body? Even the term "100 days" echoes the 1930s and Franklin Roosevelt's first administration (and Kennedy's), and suggests how deeply American metaphors have now colonised political and media

Is neo-liberalism with a human face really the best alternative to clapped out Thatcherism or Reagansm? If so, it does not east a complimentary light on the creative powers or vision of our leaders. Nigel Tappin, Dwight, Ontario, Canada

Collapse of a House of cards

THE establishment might well attempt to use Princess Diana's death to rehabilitate the monarchy. by making use of the nation's spontaneous sympathy. Her tragic fate is however, surely more likely to esult in the rapid demise of the House of Windsor once the public realises that, with the one vibrant and inspiring member of the royal circle now gone, Britain faces the unhappy prospect of being ruled by an outdated pack of cardboard cut-Frankfurt, Germany

T IS always a tragedy when a young life is claimed by a road ac | solution to the drug problem, while Welden (September 7) when he total ban (September 14). If I we says we are all to blame for Diana's death, which was patently the direct

result of drunken driving. Many people have only a political or historical interest in the Windsor family and no time for the trivialities published about them. I too, feel sorry for her innocent sons, as I do for the 300 innocent villagers who were being tortured and murdered in Algeria at about the same time. Stuart Dabbs, Alicante, Spain

THE PRESS have been describ-ing Diana as "The People's Princess*. Is this an oxymoron oxymoronic?

Briefly

N IIIS swansong as Guardianos respondent in Washington Oc Bye boomers, hello Brussels in tember 14), Martin Walker wise . . baby-boomers began lexic

their colleges and their anisas demos for the real world". Sola doesn't think protests against to Vietnam war were of the 'tel world"? And people who demo! strated against this atrocky ma neither mature nor realistic? Dana Cook. Toronto, Canada

IOHN MAYNARD KEYNEY O would have been amazed hally known that Jonathan Freedad (September 7) was going to list his among "British socialism's best ad brightest". Keynes devoted his on siderable talent to saving capitalism by forestalling socialism. Marx may have dedicated Capital to Darvin but he didn't make the (now fest ionable) mistake of confusing his logical and social evolution. He had no truck with eugenic engineering Nor did William Morris, arguable the most clear-sighted (and br sighted) of British socialists Morris's socialism — green ad humanist — has more resonant today than the pseudo-scientific w tions of Wells, Shaw and the Webls. David Grove.

HM GEORGE says and cares less Jahout the state of English cicket or the British tabloid press than be does about his own stereotypical and outdated images of the county he so painfully loves, Australia (Au gust 31). An analysis of the fault of the English cricket team is not helped by invoking the image of Australians knocked down and bleeding at the feet of their opponents — in any case, an image al too familiar to the Ali Blacks and their supporters. Australia has moved on and Mr George needs to move on with it. Genff Cordell.

Dhaka, Bangladesh

INDA GRANT'S article, This in the towel, chaps" (August 31), reminds me of the most wo derful piece of graffiti I saw a fee years ago in the West End of Gas-gow. It read: "War is menstrusing Dorothy B Sutherland. Chicago, USA

A LAN FAIRHURST asks will decriminalisation abould be a up a big spliff, point it at his Fairhurst and take a big drag on it. he doesn't get high. Ian MacDougall, Tokyo, Japan

The Guardia

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Congo blocks **UN** inquiry on massacre

Chris McGreal in Johannesburg

THE government of former Zaire has blocked the United Nations' latest attempt to investigate massacres of refugees during this year's rebellion against Mobutu Sese Seko, putting into jeopardy the en-tire mission and crucial foreign aid.

The rechristened Congo refused to permit investigators to travel to the northern town of Mbandaka last week, where hundreds of Rwandan Hutu refugees were killed on the docks of the river port, 500km north of Kinshasa, as Laurent Kabila's rebel army neared victory in May.

"We are not going to Mbandaka The government has maintained objections which exclude our going," the UN spokesman, José Díaz, said after talks with the Congolese government.

The UN has warned that 23-member investigation team has waited in Kinshasa for a month for permission to travel to an estimated 100 massacre sites, mainly in eastern Congo, reinforcing charges that the government is buying time to lestroy the evidence.

UN officials say that unless permission is granted swiftly, the entire mission is likely to pull out. "It's in peril, it's in danger," Mr Diaz said. The final decision will be made y the UN secretary-general, Kofi

The UN investigation was ordered amid growing evidence of the laughter of Rwandan Hutu elugees who failed to return to heir homeland after the invasion of Zaire by Rwanda's overwhelmingly lutsi army in support of Mr Kabila's

The continuing rift over the inves-tigation is likely to lead the United states and the European Union to reconsider aid to the vast, beleaguered country. The US says it is keen to resume aid to Congo, but it has publicly tied further aid to respect for human rights and a proper investigation of the alleged

Denis Staunton in Berlin

LI ELMUT KOHL'S hopes of

winning a record fifth term

is chancellor next year were

raised lost weekend when the

opposition Social Democrats

The result is a blow to the

had adopted a strategy, bor-

rowed from the British prime

more business-friendly eco-

ninister, Tony Blair, of promis-

ing tough action on crime and a

Henning Voscherau, Hamburg's SPD mayor, realgned

rexpectedly, saying he felt re-

ected by the voters. "We did not

and the result is bitter," he said.

Official results gave the SPD

36.2 per cent of the vote and Mr

1993 result. The Greens scored ment

achieve our election aims . . .

Kohl's Christian Democrats

(CDU) 30.7 per cent, an in-

crease of 6 per cent on their

Social Democrats (SPD), who

election in Hamburg.

nomic policy.

polled their worst result since

second world war in a sec

pen. Iranians, on the other hand, believe the US presence is designed to thwart Iranian efforts to improve their relations with the Gulf states. Iran plans to ombark on extensive naval exercises in the northern Gulf

smoke pours from a bus being used by a party of German tourists after a petrol bomb was thrown into

it outside the Egyptian Museum in Cairo last week. Ten people were killed and 24 hurt in the attack by suspected Muslim fundamentalists, who also opened fire on the passengers

FHOTOGRAPH RELIEF

Khatami attacks US threat

RAN'S new moderate president,

Mohammed Khatami, reverted

to traditional revolutionary lan-

guage on Monday and condemned

he United States presence in the

Speaking to a huge rally of élite

troops in Tehran's Azadi Square, the

president said the presence of

'enemy" fleets in the Gulf was "ille-

gitimate, a threat to regional stabil-

republic". "As long as there are

hreats, we must keep ready. Our

armed forces should stay powerful,"

The speech marked the start of

the "sacred defence week" con-

memorating the start of Iran's eight-

year war with Iraq, in which I million

The US has an estimated 20 war-

ships in the region and several thou-

sand troops stationed in Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Bahrain. Many ana-

lysts are the close proximity of these

13.9 per cent — showing little

The German People's Union

(DVU), an extreme-right party,

polled 4.9 per cent, just failing to

clear the 5 per cent hurdle that

would have won it its first seats

in the city's state parliament.

disappointment with the out-

come of the election, which

marks the start of a year of

campaigning before the general

"The SPD said they wanted to

send a warning to Kohl. What's

come out of it is a warning for

the SPD and support for Kohl,"

strongest party in Hamburg and will almost certainly lead the

next city government, probably

in coalition with the Greens. But

the result is a major blow to Mr

Voscherau, who had hoped to become finance minister in a

future national SPD govern-

said the local CDU chairman,

The SPD remains the

change from 1993.

SPD leaders d

Dirk Fischer.

hostile navies in the narrow Gulf wa-

Kohl gains as SPD falters | Israeli homes deal scorned

Iraniana died.

Gulf as a threat to Iran's stability.

next month. This week 200,000 troops were expected to conduct manocurres near the holy city of Qom, using live ammunition. President Khatami also demned as a threat to regional stability the forthcoming naval exercises in the eastern Mediterranean schedity and the system of Iran's Islamic uled by the US, Israel and Turkey.

> seeing the military presence as a boost to Israel's strength. Last weekend, Iran's ally Russia moved to calm US fears about Iranian nuclear ambitions. In talks in Moscow with the US energy secretary, Federico Pena, the Russian atonic energy minister, Viktor Mikhailov, offered to establish a ioint US-Russian team to inspect

Several Arab states share his view,

Iran's nuclear installations. Washington wants Russia to abandon the help it is giving to a ters as an accident waiting to hap | nuclear plant in southern Iran.

Julian Borger in Jerusalem

HREE families of Jewish settlers

were reported to have left con-

ested houses they were occupying

n Arab East Jerusalem last week,

after an agreement with the Israeli

government. But a Palestinian offi-

theological students would remain

Witnesses said the settlers, who

moved in on September 14, had slipped out of the back door but 10

students and a spokeswoman re-

mained behind, Earlier, Palestinian

crowds had thrown stones and petrol

Ahmed Tibi, an advisor to the

Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat,

sald: "The Israeli government gave

the seal of approval to a provocative presence in East Jerusalem. [The

Palestinians living near the site in

Ras al-Amoud have warned of riots

if the crisis is not resolved. Most

Palestinians see East Jerusalem as

bombs at the occupied houses.

in the settlement.

ieal] is a trick."

Russian offer of a joint inspection had been made without any consultation with Iran, and that Tehran was highly unlikely to allow US inspectors into the country.

But franian specialists said the

Monday's cally virtually required the president to reaffirm his anti American credentials. The occasion was attended by thousands of veterans and martyrs' families, once cousidered the most loyal supporters of the Islamic revolution, forces now often neglected in Iran's drive to improve its economy and relationship with the West.

When Mr Khatami came to nower last month there were hopes that he would improve relations with the US and Europe. Such ambitions sit unconfortably with the still-powerful hardliners backed by the country's supreme leader. Ayatollah Khamenei.

• Iraq has asked the United Nations to help secure the return of more than 140 Iraqi aircraft flown to Iran for safekeeping during the Gulf war, saying Iran was now making

Israel's public security minister.

Avigdor Kahalani, said that under

Radical rightwing Jews have

backed the settlement. They repre-

sent an important force in Binyamin

Netanyahu's coalition government.

An Israeli man whose apparent

kidnapping by Palestinian extrem-

ists triggered a manhunt and the

intervention of the US secretary of

state, Madeleine Albright, has

admitted that he staged his own

Yaakov Schwartz said he acted

under the influence of a "messianic

revelation" a few weeks ago, con-

vinced that his disappearance would

"unify" Israelis in anger and deepen

their resolve to combat terrorism.

the government's deal with the set-

and maintain" the houses.

said in Gaza.

abduction.

after it was announced that Jewish | [Jewish seminary] would "guard

the capital of a future state and re- Washington Post, page 16

The Week

DEBORAH Parry, one of two British nurses in Saudi Arabia charged with murdering an Australian colleague, has been found guilty and sentenced to death, lawyers for the victim said, although the report was denied by the UK Foreign Office. Lucille McLauchlan, the other nurse, was sentenced to flogging and eight years in prison.

THE US spurned pressure to back a worldwide ban on anti-personnel land-mines, saying its security would be compromised if it signed the treaty. Washington Post, page 15

C 111NA revealed the line-up of a new Communist Party politibure, confirming Zhu Rongji, a former Shanghai mayor, is the next prime minister. Washington Post, page 15

HE Russian parliament overwhelmingly passed a nw severely restricting religious activity, provoking alarm from minority faiths and showing the growing influence of the Orthodox Church.

S LOBODAN Milosevic's leftist bloc led in Serbia's presidential and parliamentary elections but faced an unsavoury choice of a coalition partner to secure power for another four years. His Socialist alliance was followed closely by the hardline nationalist Radical party.

HE former Zimbabwean president, Canaan Banana. has gone on trial in Harare on charges of homosexual rape.

A LBANIA'S prime minister, Fatos Nano, appealed for Socialist party, allegedly shot and seriously wounded a political rival in the parliament building.

G UNMEN killed five Iranian air force technicians and their Pakistani driver in Rawalpindi. A sixth Iranian was gard Jewish settlement there as a blow to their aspirations of indepen-dence. "The solution is to stop it. Patience has its limits," Mr Arafat injured in the attack.

RANCE signalled that is ready to scale down its dependence on atomic energy and re-evaluate its benefits in a drastic departure after 25 years tlers, 10 students from a yeshiva of pro-nuclear policies.

Le Monde, page 13

SWITZERLAND froze the bank accounts of Pakistan's ex-prime minister, Benazir Bhutto, and her family after Islamabad accused them of lodging \$1.5 billion abroad.

OUR women have been nominated in Ircland to succeed Mary Robinson as president. Ail female line-up, page 25

IKE, the sportswear firm, cut ties with four indonesian contractors in a row over wages and working conditions.

James Meek in Moscow

HE BANKERS put their inten-

tions delicately, recalled Ana-toly Kostyukov. Only as the

journalists were about to sign away

their newspaper to the emissaries

from Bank Imperial did they realise

They never said directly that

they'd strictly control every step we

took, he explained. "They just said:

It wouldn't be a bad idea if the patri-

otic alignment of the paper could be

reinforced a bit. You know, most

newspapers are under the Jewish

bankers and, in such conditions,

who is going to further the interests

South Africa

sleaze test

David Beresford

In Johannesburg

cabinet faces

A ROW between South African

\cabinet ministers and the

country's financial watchdog.

the auditor-general, is turning

into a crucial test of probity for

Nelson Mundela's government.

The clash, which has racial

overtones, concerns claims that

the minister of housing, Sankie

khembi-Mahanyele, corruptly

warded housing contracts to

The controversy came to a

mily and friends.

of our brother Slavs?"

what the new owners had in mind.

John Gittings

HE pollution haze from uncontrolled forest fires threatening parts of Southeast Asia may last till the end of the year, Indonesia -- the source of the problem — has admitted.

The smog closed Kuching airport in the Malaysian part of Borneo on Monday and people in Singapore have been advised to wear face

Satellite pictures using infrared imaging suggest that forest fires in Indonesian Kalimantan involve not only tree foliage but tree trunks buried six feet underground.

Schools were shut and few turned up for work on Monday in Malaysia's rainforest state of Sarawak, across the Borneo border from Kalimantan. Kuching airport, which had reopened briefly last Sunday, was forced to close again, Seven other airports in Borneo have closed and Royal Brunei Airlines cancelled flights.

Flights were also cancelled in the southern Philippines because of smoke drifting from Indonesia.

Relief flights to Irian Jaya, the Indonesian half of New Guinea --where more fires are reported to be ister admitted last week that they burning — have also been halted by thick smoke. The official Antara news agency said that at least 250 people in remote mountain villages had died of starvation or cholera.

The air pollutant index in Kuching reached a high of 655 before last weekend and was still over 500 on Monday, Levels fell in Singapore, but it was officially described as "a



of 200-300 is roughly equivalent to moking 20 cigarettes, according to

The Malaysian defence minister, Syed Hamid, said last Sunday that the fires covered an area as big as peninsular Malaysia, About 400 firemen were being lent to Indonesia. Air force planes were trying to induce rain by cloud-seeding, to lessen the haze.

Embarrassed Indonesian diplomats in Kuala Lumpur claimed that the haze was a rare phenomenon brought on by abnormally dry weather resulting from the 1997 El Niño effect. They said the dry season was expected to last until November or December instead of ending this month as usual.

Indonesia has now revoked the licences of Indonesian logging and plantation companies suspected of clearing huge tracts of land and burning the unwanted surplus timber. But Kuala Lumpur's anger is blunted by the knowledge that more than 40 companies with land cultivation licences issued by lakarta have Malaysian joint-venture partners.

Though Jakarta has laws to punish offenders, the environment minhad not been enforced.

The non-governmental Indonesia Forum for the Environment said it was planning a private prosecution, on the grounds that the fires could be regarded as arson.

The pollution haze forced President Suharto of Indonesia to apologise to neighbouring countries last week when environment ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian

favoured destination for

Announcing the scheme this for health in Veneto's right-ofcentre regional government, lles Braghetto, said: "We want to ensure we do not suffer consequences from the presence of people who, bearing in mind the vay in which they enter, could pose dangers to our commu-

He said the regional authori-



Illegals to get free health care

Spectacular flames rise from an oil refinery in the southeast Indian

port of Visakhapatnam after a blast that killed at least 37 people

John Hooper in Rome

LLEGAL immigrants in the region around Venice are to be offered free medical treatment. It is believed to be the first initiative of its kind in Europe and is an outstanding example of why Italy, with its generous welfare provision and lenient immigration laws, has become a

rigrants from the Third World. But to its sponsors it is more question of enlightened selfinterest: there are growing and, experts say, unjustified — fears in Italy that clandestine

mmigrapts pose a health risk.

ties would hand out up to 10,000 cards entitling the recipients to free medical treatment. The cards, which open out into larger abects, will also serve as portable medical records, carryng details of any conditions the holders may have and how they

have been treated. Mr Braghetto said that judging by the results of a pilot scheme the preventive effects could save the region about \$5.8 million a year in hospital bills.

But the scheme has also inspired deep misgivings in Italy's partners in the European Union, many of whom are dissatisfied with the laxity of its immigration rules. Next month Italy is due to start implementing the so-called Schengen agreement on passport-free movement in Europe. By April 1, immigrants who succeed in reaching Italy will be able to cross into France and

Austria without hindrance. For the moment at least, clandestine immigration — as distinct from immigrant trafficking — is not an offence in Italy.

Hanoi blames unrest grows

report on 10 years of unrest and moral decline in central ma blanning inept officialdom and the

market economy.

A lengthy editorial in the tag: Quan Doi Nhan Dan offered are glimpse through the veil of seaso that surrounds scores of vaguely is ported incidents since the late 1806 n an area considered the crade of Victnam's revolution.

region, "Military Zone Four, a ending from central Quang Bink rovince to Thank Hoa in the porth It called for decisive action to be ster grassroots ideological contain and lift public confidence it a "morally upright" government.

the people the mistakes and wrong doings of party units, authoriticadres and party members, w should quickly expose and make ineffective persons who have cause disorder and incited people,"itsid

tion among officials and Communiparty members to the re-emergence of historical fends between families social vices. It wrote of growing discontent", "complex situations been allowed to fall.

"During the reform process. when the negative side of the maket economy has penetrated all fields of life, all corners of rural and urban areas, many complicated inddents occurred in the area of Miltary Zone Four, including some which were serious," It said.

The editorial described a series of incidents, some of which it sid were the work of "hostile forces" a term Hanoi routinely uses for groups seeking to undermine it ontrol. It said officials had in war cases failed to respond adequate o popular concerns.

The military newspaper's report follows widespread unrest or corruption in northern Thai Bal province, a coastal rice-growing area to the southeast of the capital It also comes before a critical top

evel decision on the appointm this week of successors to Preside Le Due Anh and the prime minist Vo Van Kiet, both of whom are step ping down. — AP

anti-communist Church had

Vichy leader, for his espousal of the

On October 8, the trial begins in

Bordeaux of Maurice Papon, age

87, a former government minist

who is accused of crimes against humanity for his alleged recommendations

sending 1,560 Jews to their dealer

etween 1942 and 1944.

ues such as "work, family, country

officials as

Adrian Edwards in Hand

/IETNAM'S official army news paper last week issued a but

It catalogued problems across

Together with making dears

The newspaper wrote at length about issues ranging from comp and localities, as well as increasing and "political instability", and said traditional moral standards had

head last week when the auditor general, Henri Kleuver, presented a report to President landela on the so-called Motheo scandal - involving a project in the province of Mpumulanga and urged a commission of inquiry. The housing minister bit back by accusing Mr Kleuver of

wing to media pressure. The indications are that key binet members are rallying hind the minister, seeing the uditor-general as pursuing a political vendetta against the African National Congress, Mr Mandela omised an early decision on Mr Kleuver's recommendation, but is believed to be inclining towards Mrs Mthembi-Mahanyel

It is the second time this year that the auditor-general has landed in controversy. In March, the energy minister, Penuell Meduna, suspended the head of the "strategic fuel fund". Kobus van Zyl, alleging corruption. Mr Kleuver cleared Mr Van Zyl in a report to parliament. Mr Meduna accused him of a coverup on hehalf of the apartheld ported Marshal Philippe Petain, the

"old guard" in the civil service. The risk for Mr Mandela is that continuing political attacks on Mr Kleuver are likely to force the resignation of the auditorgeneral, denting the confidence

of foreign investors.
Their confidence is also likely to be shaken by the prospect that Mr Mandela's ex-wife, Winnie, could win the deputy leadership of the ANC at its congress in December — which would place her in line for the presidency.

Meanwhile Mrs Mandela is seeking to postpone her questioning by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission about the nurder of Storopie Selpei and the

Mr Kostyukov, deputy editor of the business rivals and to press the gov-weekly Obshchaya Gazeta, draws ernment for favours. ernment for favours. little satisfaction from his paper's re-One of the most ambitious of

Media barons tame Russia's press

fusal to sell out to the bankers. As with most so-called independent - that is, non-government media outlets in post-communist Russia, Obschaya Gazeta's journalists have exchanged the censorship of Soviet times for heavy-handed pressure from rich new patrons on whose handouts they depend.

Low cover prices and advertising revenues mean most newspapers are loss-makers. Yet one by one, newspapers have been bought up by Russian financiers. They have done so less to promote particular viewpoints than to be able to trash

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THE RESIDENCE PROMISE AND ASSOCIATED AND RESPONDENCE OF A REPORT O

BRINGING 1HL PERS

British Isles IM99 155.

Russia's financier-industrialists, Vladimir Potanin of Uneximbank MFK, has already left his stamp on two big Russian papers left over from Soviet times — Izvestiya and Komsomolskaya Pravda — in which he has bought stakes. This month he launched another broadsheet daily, the Russky Telegraph. In its opening broadside, the

paper cried out against a "deficit of respectability" in the media. "In the whole of Russia there is not one daily publication which would even vaguely correspond to the Western understanding of a solid news-

just such a service with sophisticated

more than this.

security arrangements and well-trained

However, most expatriales new

You need information on

money transfers, property

management, insurance

You may need help on

choosing suitable

savings or

mortgages, international

and pensions.

paper," said a front-page editorial. Yet what was striking about the first edition of Russky Telegraph was its similarity to the clutch of other loss-

> country of 142 million, each broadsheet is read by a narrow group of fewer than 500,000 people living mainly within Moscow's ring road. Mr Potanin is a long way from catching up with his chief rivals, the presidential security council aide and tycoon Boris Berezovsky, and

making, small-circulation broad-

sheets run by rival tycoons. In a

the media magnate and banker Vladimir Gusinsky. Although he insists that he has put his shares in a blind trust while

and Sevodnya newspaper. The one thing uniting most Russ ian media, state and privately owned - the main exception being the communist Sovietskaya Rossiya is that it shies away from criticism of Boris Yeltsin. The media reflects a growing consensus among the élite in favour of patriotic, oligarchic capitalism, where debate centres on

zovsky is believed to retain effective control over two TV channels and one daily newspaper, Nezavisimaya

Gazeta. His current ally Mr Gusin-

sky - the other "Jewish banker"

ominously referred to - runs another national television channel,

NTV, a satellite television network

which banker gets what property. Brave, intelligent investigative reporting can still be found in the Russian press but it comes at the he holds state office, Mr Bereprice of heavy political compromise.

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French bishops to admit collusion with Nazis

Alex Duval Smith in Paris

MOVE by the French Roman Catholic Church to acknowledge its support for anti-Semitic laws during the second world war is being interpreted as an early sign that the Pope intends to apologise for the Vatican's collusion with the

The French Church's decision to stage a ceremony next week on the site of the Drancy deportation camp near Paris is seen as a triumph for | teaching. From 1942, when largethe Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Jean-Marie Lustiger, who is a converted Jew and a strong contender for the next papacy.

During the unprecedented cere-

mony on September 30, the bishop | call an international symposium en- | the French war years, the statement of St Denis, which includes Drancy, will read a statement about the "the attitude of the bishops of France during the war".

Historians have repeatedly pointed out that the Roman Catholic Church in France failed to condemn anti-Jewish laws passed by the Vichy government in 1940. The measures banned Jews from owning property and from exercising professions such as law, medicine and scale deportations from France began, the laws made it easier for

News of next week's statement follows a decision by the Vatican to I

the police to trace Jews.

titled "Christians and anti-Semitism" n Rome at the end of October.

The symposium, which will be attended by cardinals, theologians and historians, will look at the second world war and at Christian persecution of Jews during the 15th century Spanish Inquisition. More controversially for the Church, it will look at allegations that the Vati-

can bankrolled German Nazis. The symposium will report to the

Pope, who has promised to produce a document on the subject. This could be followed by a formal apology.

According to Serge Klarsfeld, a prominent Jewish lawyer and cam-

paigner for fuller information about

to be made on September 30 is "very strong". He said: "The statement goes very much further than anyone had expected. If anything, it almost exaggerates the role of the Roman Catholic Church after the ".040 air 1940.

About 75,000 Jews, out of a total of 320,000, were deported from France to Nazi death camps. Of those who were deported, only about 2,500 returned.

Mr Klarsfeld said that French people had put up more resistance to Nazi laws than those in countries such as Denmark, Belgium and

But he added that the fervently

On Monday, Mgr Louisland Billé, the president of the French bishops' conference, said: "It is in the Church took charge of the of its children." He added that of its children." He added unpentance was a key aspect of its 1994 Vatican guidelines wife Roman Catholics to be recommon with religious groups which his with religious groups which his church has a she Church

disappearance of other youths. suffered because of the Chiro intolerance or indifference.

Machine-gun rules in new Wild West

Christopher Reed in Los Angeles

S POLICE in Los Angeles last week launched an inves-tigation into a bank robbery that left one man dead and another injured, fears were growing that the purchase of 600 M-16 automatic rifles for the city's police department will turn the sprawling megalopolis into a trigger-happy Wild West — with machine-guns.

The robbery, in which guards engaged in a gunfight with five thieves at a bank in busy Van Nuys Boulevard, recalled a bloody shoot-out earlier this year. Then, two robbers wearing body armour held police at | the law through cosmetic changes bay with AK-47s and sprayed the area with bullets for an hour as live television relayed the maybem.

The FBI has designated greater Los Angeles the "bank robbery capital of the world", with a fifth of all US bank robberies committed in the area. Last year they reached 1,226, and one carried a 9mm semi-

comes by its title because armed robbers in stolen cars can speed away from robberies on the motorways and be 20 miles away in 20 minutes. They can abandon their cars and disappear before police arrive.

California's senator, Dianne Feinstein, last week appealed to Israel not to export tens of thousands of Uzi and Galil machine guns to the

She sent a strongly worded letter to the prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, asking him to intervene. She called on President Bill Clinton to help stem imports of rifles that are theoretically illegal but subvert to their specifications.

At Van Nuys two bank security guards, both retired police officers in plain clothes and carrying concealed guns, spotted the robbers in their car behind the Great Western Bank. The men pulled on ski-masks

more than three a day. Los Angeles | automatic pistol. More than a dozen | often provokes determined robber shots were exchanged. The robber with the gun fell to the ground, another was wounded, and a third sprinted through the bank and escaped. The other two sped off in their stolen car.

Several residents recalled the battle of February 28 in North Hollywood, which they saw on television. LA police were outgunned by two bank robbers in black armour who walked boldly about thrusting new magazines into their sputtering rifles. Ten police officers and five passers-by were injured and both robbers were killed. One bled to death with 29 bullet wounds.

The LA force immediately conplained they had nothing to match the robbers' AK-47s. Their 9mm Beretta pistols would not even penetrate their armour. One robber was shot through the head with a rifle an officer obtained from a nearby gun shop.

Security experts say aggression | department outgunned."

into armed response. The two guards worked for a security firm in California that has 17,000 guards nationwide. They are part of US armed corps made up of increasingly militarised police forces, and federal departments that now have 60,000

Washington

hot on the

global warming.

Its under-secretary for fora-

offairs, Timothy Wirth, visited

Saudi Arabia last week at the

end of a European tour to to

save December's climate talking

Kyoto, Japan, from failure mi

President Clinton from a hom?

European Union in Brussels, a

an attempt to finalise a dealor

timetables and targets for only carbon dioxide emissions.

He said there was no strong backing in the US for actions

climate change. There was

strong opposition from the like Climate Coalition, funded by k

oil, coal and car lobbies, which was spending millions of dollar

on advertisements claiming the

electricity bills would rise 20 p

cent if the White House pressed

A Senate resolution blocked

progress in setting targets for CO2 emissions unless develop

ing countries such as Mexico

iouth Korea, China, India and

Brazil accepted them too. If the

White House could not meet the

demand there was no chanced

getting the two-thirds majorith

Congress needed to raffy a glob

convention agreed in Japan Mr Wirth acknowledged that

with 22 per cent of the world

carbon dioxide emissions completen the US it was difficult to gi

developing countries to accept targets and timetables when the

US has so far done nothing to

curb its own profligate use of the

sil fucis. For progress to be not Extrope and newly industristics

countries had to accept that

nlicad with the targets.

ating defeat in Congress.

armed agents. The Los Angeles police department's M-16 guns were donated by the defence department and are similar to those used by US soldiers in Vietnam. They will be carried in the boot of police sergeants' cars and used by specially trained officers. They are part of \$26 million worth of equipment supplied to US police forces in the past two years, including body armour, military helmets, and infrared viewers.

California's Republican governor Pete Wilson, brandished one of the M-16s at a press conference and declared: "Never, ever again do I want to see officers from the LA police

carbon trail Paul Brown HE United States is policy of pressure on Saudi Ambian drop claims for compension for lost oil revenues if the will **IMPRESSIVE** agrees to reduce the amount carbon dioxide released into atmosphere in an effortiokie

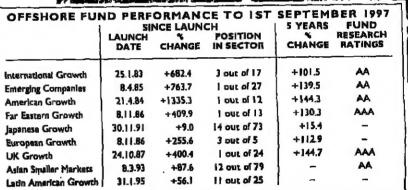
In an interview in London Mr Wirth said the White House faced an "aggressive, wellorganised" opposition intente sabotaging the talks and the bit ity of the US to deliver a del Against the broad landscape of offshore His visits to the British, Genze investments Perpetual stands out for the and Saudi governments, auto

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Fund-raising inquiry blow to Clinton

Martin Kettle in Washington

RESIDENT Bill Clinton last weekend tried to shrug off the most notentially damaging development so far in the campaign fund-raising row that is plaguing his

Last Saturday the United States attorney-general, Janet Reno, said she had opened a formal inquiry into whether Mr Clinton illegally solicited campaign contributions in telephone calls from the White House during last year's presidential contest, Until now, the investigations into possible fund-raising violations have not involved the president personally. But the inquiry, which may eventually lead to the appointment of a special prosecutor, could change that.
Mr Clinton took a relaxed view of

the development when he was questioned by reporters aboard Air Force One while heading back to Washington from California.

"I don't know anything about it," he said with a shrug of the shoul-

He had been in California taking his daughter. Chelses, to start her college career at Stanford University. But he took the opportunity while in San Francisco to attend three events which brought in

raising and the presidency.

completed within 30 days.

Party, a reminder of the close and | that have already been started into | allegations against the vice-president, Al Gore, and former energy secretary Hazel O'Leary. In each case, if the inquiry finds that the allegations are credible, then it will be extended for a further 90 days to see whether a crime may have been committed. If so, then Ms Reno would be required to ask

President Clinton's lawyers said that they expect the matter to be dealt with speedily, "No laws were broken and any kind of enforcement action would be absolutely unprece-

Mr Clinton came under scrutiny when federal investigators examined records which suggested he solicited funds in calls made from an appeal court panel to appoint a the White House and that some of

by a quarter in the past five years.

China were part of the process the UN Earth Summit review conference in New York in June that he would provide US and timetables in time for fine.

This would be done afters like. House conference on October

tments: something that Officers at the Humboldt sher-

be required to make similar

developing countries and the "carbon credits" for the 15



WELL, LOOKIE - IN EVERY PANTS POCKET, A DONATION..

delicate relationship between fund-

In its announcement, the justice department said it is "reviewing whether allegations that the president illegally solicited campaign contributions on federal property should warrant a preliminary investigations under the Independent Counsel Act". The review must be

Washington would not signs vention unicss bigh emitter its special prosecutor to examine the the contributions went into "hard | I money" accounts.

drug traffickers sometimes hire Developing countries would bistoleros, and shootings have risen

and carry Ruger AC566 machineguns that fire 750 bullets a minute.

They have heliconters and fire an They have helicopters and four-wheel drive vehicles. "We are a superior force and we're not afraid of these guys," Lieutenant Steven

Mexicans 'own California drug crop'

evidence is accumulating that much of the illegal crop is now owned by Mexican drug traffickers — and violence is escalating, writes Christopher Reed in Los Angeles.

Some 10 years ago, growing "pot" in the Golden State's "emerald triangle" - the forested counties of Humboldt, Trinity and Mendocino - was an alternative lifestyle for

hippies and disillusioned urbanites. quasi-military operations, deploying immigrants. The gardens have spotter aircraft and burning the sophisticated drin irrigation systems. crops. Prices doubled and some | powered by portable generators. | 80 per cent of the illegal crop. The | equipment, including weapons." | will get new technology and

plants hydroponically.

"It was inevitable that a criminal element would move in under these circumstances," said Dr Mark Kleiman, a drug-market scholar at the University of California's public policy school.

are proving correct today - with a | bribe Mexican border or state offi-

A STHE annual cannabis harvest begins in northern California, plants hydroponically.

Anti-drug intelligence has found that the labourers are financed by that the labourers are financed by powerful Mexican cartel bosses,

who already earn millions of pounds from cocaine, heroin and "speed" (methamphetamine). Their move to United States soil is an ironic example of the free mar-Forecasts he made in the 1980s. ket at work. They avoid having to

vengeance. Drug enforcement offi- cials and, by using public or comcers are finding scores of cannabis | mercially owned land, escape the gardens, many on national forest US penalty of having their assets

Some critics fear this attitude may lead to unnecessary bloodshed, but a drug enforcement official said: These people are a threat
because they have nothing to lose.
They are more violent and we will

Cobine said.

spotter aircraft and burning the sophisticated drip irrigation systems are estimated to control more than therefore continue to ask for more oping countries because the

monitor their performance to ensure they maintain the

Blunkett acts to defuse truancy 'time bomb'

DUCATION, education, educa-Tony Blair's Labour Government. But it is not simply a classroom problem, as the Education Secre-tary, David Blunkett, is rapidly finding out. Shortcomings in different parts of the system are calling for a | tors and nurses are also entitled to whole raft of "initiatives" and "crack-

The latest crackdown is on truancy, which Mr Blunkett described as a "ticking time bomb" which disengaged thousands of young people from education and undermined their chances of success. His department is to spend £23 million on a drive to combat "social exclusion"

He is inviting bids for projects to help education authorities and schools to tackle truancy and to bring "disaflected" 14- to 16-yearolds back into learning. And there will be £2 million for a programme to give children more opportunities for work-related learning.

The teaching union, NASUWT, to which he outlined his plans, greeted them with some reserve. Its general secretary, Nigel de Gruchy, said teachers knew from bitter experience that there was "no point in trying to force truculent teenagers to stay on at the fag-end of school careers which they themselves see as unsuccessful".

Mr Blunkett is having to send an education "improvement team" into the London borough of Hackney after a damning inspectors' report revealed "disarray and turmoil" in the authority and in the running of its 59 schools. The Government would like to take education out of the council's control, but cannot do so until a new Education Act gives it the necessary powers.

Universities are claiming that they cannot afford the right equipment to teach their students properly. Four out of five universities were found by researchers to be failing their students in this respect, and £400 million is reckoned to be needed.

Ministers later announced they had found an extra £165 million for higher education - a move widely seen as an attempt to draw the sting out of a rebellion at next week's Labour party conference against the imposition of university tuition fees.

RADE UNION leaders and leftwing Labour MPs reacted with anger to plans by Cabinet ministers either to forgo pay rises of £17,000 (about 20 per cent) or, as suggested by the Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, to donate the money to charity.

The ministers were put on the spot by the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, who announced that he would not be taking all of his rise of £43,000 (40 per cent). They also felt they had been bounced into the problem because the Chancellor. Gordon Brown, a bachelor who lives in a subsidised house, said he was following Mr Blair's example.

Mr Blair said he was conscious of the need "to show restraint because of the sensitivities and realities of the public spending situation". (The Treasury had earlier ordered a freeze on the public sector pay bill, which will hit the salaries of doctors, nurses, teachers and thou-

But David Hart, of the National Association of Head Teachers, accused ministers of engaging in public relations politics. He supported their right to take the pay rise and wanted the Government "to acknowledge that head teachers, docsalaries which recognise the importance of their work".

ON THE EVE of the Liberal Democrats' annual conference, the party leader, Paddy Ashdown, rallied to the support of his predecessor, Lord Steel, who was reported to have earned nearly £94,000 for his role in the campaign to defend fox-hunting.

Lord Steel had done nothing wrong, said Mr Ashdown. His paid relationship with the countryside lobby, which campaigns to build greater awareness of life in rural areas and supports fox hunting, was an open secret at Westminster and had been listed in the Register of Members' Interests.

The register does not require MPs to disclose how much they earn from their outside interests. However, what caused raised eyebrows was the revelation that for 18 months Lord Steel's remuneration from the Countryside Movement, of which he became chairman in 1995, was significantly greater than his MP's salary of £43,000.

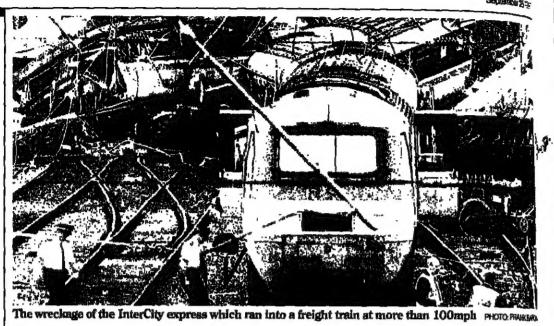
Lord Steel claimed reports of his activities were defamatory and that solicitors would be acting on his

HE BBC postponed proposals for a radical overhaul of TV and radio news programmes after 48 hours of furious reactions from staff. Leading programme presenters had signed a letter protesting at plans to do away with individual programme editors and to place all news output in the hands of five "super editors" — a change which, it was claimed, would turn the BBC into another CNN.

The U-turn came after intervention by the chairman of the BBC governors, Sir Christopher Bland. who was said to have read the riot act to his director-general, John Birt, and to the chief executive of news, Tony Hall, who dreamed up the money-saving changes.

In the wake of the death of Diana. Princess of Wales, the BBC is also thinking again about the way i should cover future big royal events, such as the death of the Queen Mother. This, it is now accepted, should respectfully celebrate her life rather than envelop the nation in a state of mourning (and, in the process, displeasing substantial minority) as happened following the death of Diana.

BRITISH TAXPAYERS are, for the first time, being asked to calculate their own tax bills this year. The deadline for the return of the baffling self-assessment tax forms is September 30, but only 3.3 million have been received, leaving 5 million outstanding. The Inland Revenue warned defaulters they could face hefty penalties, while denying that it had any plans to profit from the confusion.



Crash train safety systems 'were not working'

OLICE have launched three separate inquiries into the cause of a crash involving an InterCity 125 passenger train and a freight train in west people were killed and 150 injured. London last week, in which six

British Transport Police announced that the driver of the passenger train, which was travelling at more than 100mph when the accident took place in the Southall area, was being questioned in connection with

manslaughter inquiry. The inquiries will focus on why the driver did not stop to let the freight train pass - either through human error in passing a danger signal or because the wrong signal had been given as a result of a systems fault. According to colleagues of the

driver, the train's automatic warning system (AWS) was logged in the train's repair book as faulty when he took charge of the Swansea to London service at Cardiff. The AWS, which has been

litted in the cabs of all passenger trains for many years, is lesigned to warn the driver if the train is approaching a danger signal, and to apply the brakes if not disarmed by the

The train was also one of a handful fitted with the Automatic Train Protection system (ATP), a highly sophisticated and

expensive computer system designed to override the drive and halt the train automaticly . in the event of danger, Howen, it later emerged that the ATP system may not have been activated on the crash train.

The general accretary of the train drivers' union Asief, Las Adams, said he was astonishd to learn the ATP system may no have been in operation. lie sel there was an "unwritten assumption" that the operator company, Great Western, wall use the fall-safe system on its high-speed InterCity trains at part of a deal agreed with the union more than a year ago in exchange for reducing the number of drivers on such trib

Lib Dems unite in scorn for Labour

HE Liberal Democrats this week put the Government's economic policies firmly in their sights with a sustained attack on Gordon Brown's "something for nothing" Budget and the broken promises they say it is bound to produce on health and education spending this winter.
Paddy Ashdown's Treasury

spokesman, Malcolm Bruce, led the assault as MPs and party activists engaged in familiar tussics over their relationship with Tony Blair's Cabinet when the annual Lib Dem conference opened in Eastbourne

Labour's adherence to the spending targets they inherited from Kenneth Clarke's pre-election budgets provided the conference with theme around which to unite.

This tone was encouraged by a leadership anxious to prevent an obsession with "Lib-Lab coalition" fears, especially in the light of the formation earlier this month of a Lib-Lab Cabinet committee to discuss the "shared constitutional agenda" of the two parties and the declaration by Mr Ashdown that a coalition with Labour was "a possibility" in the future.

Though some speakers were sceptical about the Lib-Dem's own policies, they were united in scorn and disappointment over Labour's economic performance.

Even Mr Brown's decision to "free" the Bank of England was attacked -- not because it was wrong, said one speaker, but because it was a "100 per cent right" decision taken | Zealand-style performance-related game".

in a secretive, undemocratic way, It had long been Lib Dem policy, delegates reminded each other. In the first major speech of the

conference, Mr Bruce, himself an anti-coalition MP from Scotland. nunted his fellow Scot, the Chancellor, with what Lib Dems claim is his dsjudgment of the public mood the demand for better public services instead of rising hospital waiting lists and decaying, crowded

"Tony Blair says it's all the Tory legacy. But now it's Labour respon-sibility. Liberal Democrats will hold them to account. We will hold an autumn campaign against the cuts." he promised, despite the presence in Eastbourne this week of two ministers, Frank Field at social security

He told Mr Darling to take a message home to Mr Brown: "You cannot deliver better schools and hospitals and keep to Tory spending limits. Face the facts. Stop waiting lists going up as you promised to do in the election. Cut class sizes, you promised that too. It's not good enough just to have your hearts in the right place. Put your money in

the right place too." Specifically, Mr Bruce unveiled plans for a Fiscal Responsibility Act which would prevent governments from making "destabilising pre-election income tax bribes" by imposing rules on spending, plus detailed performance criteria for each ministry, which would be monitored by the

National Audit Office The Lib Dems also want New

pay for ministers and senior of cials, with pay cuts for failure. The would concentrate minds at b Department of Health," Mr Braz told delegates. Mr Bruce's junior colleague

the Treasury team, the forms Shell economist, Vince Cable, as MI for Twickenham, raised by stakes further by challenging the Prime Minister directly. Rabs than countenance further delays? tactics over European motern union (EMU) he should tell to conference that there would be timetable for an early reference on EMU to obtain a democra mandate for entry . . . we are spi ing for the fight."

The Tories merited little more tention than passing sarcson, is Bruce called William Hague's de-less Tory Teletubby" who mis-The Minister without Portion John Major look a statesman Peter Mandelson, on Moult launched an outspoken attack . Mr Ashdown, accusing him d going out of his way to chink

Mr Mandelson accused the la Dem leader of sniping at the leader of sniping pander to members sceptical not closer co-operation between the la Writing in the Times, he

Mr Ashdown: "He wears he saults on the Government badge of honour . . . His hope and such attacks will make his ence less wary of his person to move closer to the Government He said the tactic was 'a dang

GUARDIAN WEEKLY September 28 1997

Back me or sack me, says Hague

ILLIAM Hague's shaklest Week as Tory leader was completed last week by the anouncement that the party's chief pin doctor, Francis Halewood, has

As Mr Hague faced a fresh barrage of flak from his own ranks after accusing Tony Blair of making political capital out of Princess Diana's funeral, he issued a tough back-meor-sack-me challenge eerily reminiscent of his predecessor, John Major. They can reject change and ac-

rept inevitable decline. Or they can have done badly since June, and there ndorse my leadership, and help me is no choice offered to the 250,000 ejuvenate the Conservative party paid-up activists except a yes.

and restore our confidence, pride and electoral success. But without a mandate for change, I do not believe the job of Conservative party leader would be worth having," he wrote in he Daily Telegraph on Monday. Aides insisted Mr Hague would

win his twin battles at next month's Blackpool conference — grassroots endorsement of his leadership victory and acceptance of his draft for restructuring his shattered party. Tory critics are calling the exercise a "North Korean" or "Albanian" referendum on Mr Hague's elevation, because he is widely seen to

Hague advisers said. One aide said: "We are not unhappy with what's going on. What

future leadership contests if MPs at

But Mr Hague believes that he is being undermined by some Tory MPs who are misrepresenting his reform package. Last week's shadow cabinet dld not, as was widely reported, reject a new disci-Nor is it true that the rank-andfile will only be allowed a say in

Hague: 'I can deliver results'

Westminster are unable to achieve a clear result. The final formula, likely o give peers, MEPs and local acwe are planning is for the long term: plain-speaking politics, not being ivists about 20 per cent of the new electoral college, will give activists a bothered by what the press says, and letting people realise that say under any circumstances. William has stronger qualities than

some people give him credit for."

The Hague camp admits the Comment, page 12

grassroots vote may yield fewer than 100,000 returned ballot papers, with some local parties unwilling o unable to participate. It also admits that a leadership ballot with one candidate only is "Albanian". But an adviser claimed there was justification to tie in a leadership vote with the reform package: William links the two because he's really saying 'If you say yes to the Albanian leadership but reject the

Mr Hague wrote: "I am not going to turn myself into a stuffy political eader who insists on always wearing a suit because some people don't like the idea of sometimes doing things differently. I also see myself as somebody who can deliver results."

reforms, I don't want the job'."

UK NEWS 9

Labour advises oil firms to sue Greenpeace

David Hencke

GOVERNMENT ministers are advising oil companies to sue Greenpeace for disrupting the exploration of potentially lucrative oil and gas fields in the North Atlantic.

A letter from the energy minister, John Battle, to the former trade minister, Richard Page, discloses that his ministry has been advising oil companies to sue Greenpeace as part of a co-ordinated campaign to deny the pressure group publicity.

The disclosure comes after the oil

company BP went to court to try to claim millions of pounds from Greenpeace after it disrupted oil exploration in the area. Greenpeace is seeking a judicial review of the last government's decision to grant ex-ploration licences in the North At-lantic. It argues the Government acted illegally because the explo-ration breaks the European Union Habitat Directive that protects a rare species of cold water coral, ophelia pertusa, abundant in the North Atlantic.

Mr Battle says: "Early this year it vas agreed the Government should espond to any Greenpeace activities in a low-key manner in order to avoid media opportunities for Green-right statements of condemnation.

peace. This strategy was agreed with industry and other government departments . . . companies were advised to exercise the legal powers they had over Greenpeace and the overall situation continues to be monitored by government."

His views were condemned by the shadow trade and industry minister, John Redwood, "While we might have argued forcibly against some of Greenpeace's activities we would not be involved in any campaign to deny them publicity. Given Labour's official support for green issues, this is the worst kind of humbug."

Greenpeace, whose campaign i the North Atlantic is supported by 60 MPs of all parties, is furious. The group is writing to the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, to protest about a breach of the party's manifesto com nitment to support green issues.

The Department of Trade and Industry pointed out that Mr Battle's comments came after he had been hallenged by Richard Page, the Tory MP for southwest Hertford shire, for being "supine in providing protection to companies legally going about their business . . It would have been comforting to have

Supermarkets fight poverty

Owen Bowcott in Dhaka, Bangladesh

EADING supermarket chains are to draw up a code of prac ice aimed at preventing exloitation of the world's poorest countries, the International evelopment Secretary, Clare

Short, disclosed last week. The fair trading standards, which are already under discussion, will regulate how overseas workers are treated and the impact on the environment of the goods produced.

Speaking in Bangladesh — on her first visit to the developing world since taking office — Ms Short signalled her determinanon to boost the political profile of her new department and recover from the controversy surounding her comments about the volcano-stricken island of

There is massive potential arough British shoppers to |... ackle horrific labour conditions and environmentally degrading

practices like excessive pesticides," she said.

The UK's 10 largest super market companies annually purchase goods abroad worth nore than the economies of about 30 of the world's most deprived states.

"Fair trade has been seen a just about types of coffee, but this will take fair trade on to a much bigger canvas. Ethical and sustainable business is good business," said Ms Short. The supermarkets have been

talking to the Department for International Development (DfID) for some time. Work on drafting the codes would begin "as soon as possible", she said. The common standards may eventually be incorporated into

Suropean Union and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development regulations.

Parliament might soon be encouraged to set an example by providing fair trade coffee to MPs, a department official suggested.

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SENIOR police officers called for the laws on rape to be reformed because, they said, only one in 10 rapists is being

THE police have called for roadside testing for drugs to be introduced within a year after figures were published indicating that 25 per cent of those involved in road deaths had taken either illegal or prescribed drugs.

PETROL prices should double, cars' road tax should be based on engine size and employers should get tax rebates for paying for employees' public transport costs, says a report from the Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution.

UROPEAN Union scientists conceded that Northern Ireland farmers might qualify to resume exports of beef without taking further measures to guarantee the health of their herds thanks to computer tracking of BSE-infected cattle. The ve suggests that the worldwide ban on British beef exports may soon be lifted.

THE Health Secretary, Frank Dobson, admitted that the Government will not be able to honour its pledge to cut National Health Service waiting lists in the short term.

ASYLUM-SEEKERS detained at Campafield House near Oxford while their applications are processed claim they are being shut in their rooms like prisoners, given insufficient food and prevented from phon-ing lawyers or friends following a riot a month ago.

ENNIS MARKS, the general director of the English National Opera, was dismissed latest colourful act in the world of London opera.

ORD TONYPANDY, who as La George Thomas was Speaker of the House of Commons when radio coverage of Parliament began in 1978, becoming famed for his cries of "Order, order", has died at the age of 88.

A RACE on the Rio Negro trib-utary of the Amazon river between teams of rowers from both Oxford and Cambridge universities and Brazil ended in triumph for the home crew when both British boets sank.

Wales narrowly votes Yes

Ewen MacAskill, Anne Perkins and Michael White

ONY BLAIR'S political honeymoon came to an end last week when his constitutional reform package scraped to victory in the Welsh referendum.

The tiny majority - less than per cent - forced the Prime Minister to acknowledge the "fears expressed by the people" over decentralisation

After a tense night in which the No campaign appeared to be ascendant, a relieved Welsh Secretary, Ron Davies, declared the result "stunning". But Mr Blair did not travel to Cardiff as he had to Edin-

burgh the previous week to bask in | where voters backed their parlia-

The lack of a decisive mandate will mean the bill is given a rough ride. Labour rebels said they would accept the will of the people, but in-tended to scrutinise the bill line by

Mr Blair said: "We must take account of the narrowness of the margin and that is why we carry on, allaying their fears, and making sure they know this is about decentralising power." The vote would not lead to separation, he added.

Legislation will be introduced this year to create the assembly, which will be in place by summer 1999. In stark contrast with Scotland,

With a turnout of just over 50 per cent, the assembly plan has the backing of only 25 per cent of the The 22 counts betrayed a marked difference in opinion between east and west Wales, with the anglicised

and the gaels of the west and radicals of the valleys voting for change. The Conservative leader, William Hague, said the vote had divided Wales, and the Government should

take that as a warning not to embark

Britons are

lazy cooks

RITONS, stereotyped as the

Dworst cooks in Europe, are

also the laziest, according to a

veek, writes Jamie Wilson.

holds admit eating rehented

convenience food on a regular

basis, and 9 per cent say they

pretend to guests they cooked

lasagne, chicken tikka masala

nearly doubled in five years to

99,000 tonnes a year, a shop-

and other ready-to-cat meals has

ping bill of £505 million. Britain

also consumes 45,000 tonnes of

frozen pizza and 18,000 litres of

ulation, households spend only

and buy twice as much fresh pasts

£135 million on chilled meals

survey found that the French

spend less time in the kitchen

preparing their evening meal.

The East Midlands is the

biggest purchaser of chilled ' ' meals, while the Northcast has

the highest proportion of offeuders -- 16 per cent --

meals as their own.

In France, with the same pop-

prepared soups every year.

Consumption of chilled

the meal from scratch.

Ninety-five per cent of house-

NOP survey published this

Marches voting for the status quo

on regional English government John Prescott admitted that to Government is unlikely to alter to spread devolution from Solari and Wales to the English refer before the next election before the next election.

ment 3 to 1, the Welsh had 559,419 He conceded that objections voters (50.3 per cent) in favour, with lowing the narrow win for the is 552,698 (49.7 per cent) against, a camp in Wales meant that ministra majority of 6,721 (0.6 per cent). might have to rethink their strain.

They would be "listening to be people and consulting with the parties. Mr Blair "wants consens and common ground", he said. The model he wishes to follows!

the pan-European system which gives regional government singi cant economic and political pures in units of around 5 million people. But, he said, the consulting

process would take time.

Comment, page 12



History lesson . . . Robin Cook shows would-be diplomats around the Dunbar Court, one of the ornate glories of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, during an open day to encourage an end to the Foreign Office's reputation as a domain of the white Oxbridge male. 'If I'm going to represent Britain I need a Foreign Office that is representative of the whole of modern Britain,' Mr Cook said. Of 6,000 staff, currently only 3.3 per cent are from ethnic minorities

HOTOGRAPH: NEPA MATHEWS

Sinn Fein's participation untenable.

Sinn Fein signed the principles ear

lier this month as a prerequisite to

But Mr Mitchell, in the absence of the Ulster Unionists, has already

dealt with the IRA's comments. And

security sources say there is no indi-

cation of IRA involvement in the re-

publican bombing of the Protestant

village. It was, they believe, the

work of a hardline splinter group, the Continuity Army Council.

Jeffrey Donaldson, an Ulster Unionist MP, said: There is no bet-

er issue to confront Sinn Fein with

than the question of their links to

the IRA. It is vital we establish in the

talks that the commitment to the

Mitchell principles by republicans

commits the IRA to these principles,

and that any breach will lead to the

expulsion of Sinn Fein from these

The DUP, which believes any ne-

gotiation is tantamount to conceding

an agenda for a united Ireland, is fu-

rious at the Ulster Unionists' stance.

It has accused them of breaking

electoral promises. Their clashes

are currently as fearsome as those

between Mr Trimble and Sinn Fein.

Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein pres-

ident, said the UUP was using its ac-

tion as way of justifying their move into face to face meetings. "If it's a

lems" with the Mitchell principles of | ticket for Mr Trimble to get into the | trying to pass off ready-cooked

participation in the talks.

Unionists to join talks

John Mullin in Belfast

THE Ulater Unionist party was

expected finally to go into the

same room as Sinn Fein at Stormont

Castle on Tuesday this week, but

only to demand Sinn Fein's expul-

sion from the multi-party talks on

George Mitchell, the former

United States senator chairing the

negotiations, is understood to have

told UUP leader David Trimble that

he will only hear his demands in

person - in front of the other par-

ticipants. He rejected a similar

motion from Ian Paisley's Democra-

tic Unionist Party, because the DUP

The Ulster Unionists' plea is cer-

tain to fail. They will then have to

decide whether to withdraw once

more or remain in the room and

begin all-party negotiations. The in-

dications are that they will stay —

not to negotiate, but to confront

The Ulster Unionists believe Sinn

Fein should be excluded on two

grounds. First, they suspect the IRA

of involvement in the Markethill

bombing last week, in which a 400 lb device exploded outside an

RUC station. No one was injured.

Second, the UUP says the IRA's re-

cent statement that it had "prob-

democracy and non-violence make I talks, then fair enough," he said.

Sinn Fein, as Mr Trimble put it.

Northern Ireland's future.

was boycotting the talks.

MI5 targets benefit cheats

David Hencke and Richard Norton-Taylor

∧ GENTS from MI5 are targeting. Alarge-scale benefit cheats under an initiative agreed between he Security Service and the socil security ministry.

Ministers at the Department of Social Security have approved the appointment of MI5 to oversee E audit of the 5,000 staff running the benefit fraud operation.

The ministry wants to save 25 billion over three years to contac the annual £80 billion benefit bill.

The disclosure of MI5's involve ment comes in a confidential men randum which has been circulate to top officials in the ministry.

A Department of Social Security spokeswoman said last Suday Where organised crime is connected with benefit fraud - such a printing talse giros (cheques) — Miss contacted. But I must stress that when individual claimants only at involved it is not a matter for ME.

But Jeremy Corbyn, Labour Mr for Islington North, said: This is desperation in the post-cold waren to find something for MIS to do. Miswould be better concentrating of pursuing large-scale tax evasion the wealthy in offshore (ax havens

Steve Webb, the Liberal Demo crats' spokesman on social securi and MP for Northavon, said: The does seem rather extraordinary. It rather see the ministry spening more time helping those who are entitled to benefit being able to

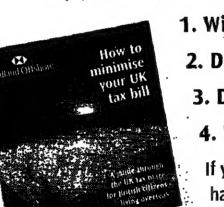
MI6 has persuaded ministers he social security fraud is a legions: area for the agency, which area? has privileged access to personal formation held by government partments through its resp for monitoring computer scuin across Whitehall. It argues that 9 cial security and housing bear fraud come under MI5's new rok combat "serious crime"; defined tremely broadly in the 1996 Seam Service Act.

dicated last year that MISs at panded role would be limited by helping the police combat loop The Conservative govern as the British. Paradoxically, the type gangs and drug barons!

The Minister without Period
Peter Mandelson, called on 1855 destroy all files on subve created during the cold warsher ceiving an apology from Salar Lander, the head of MII, ordinates the head of MII, ordin the head of MII, ordinates the head of MII, ordinates the head former agent, David Shayler.

There is a simple and legal way of reducing the amount of tax you will pay in the UK - simply move your UK savings to an offshore bank while you are living overseas.

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2. Do you have SAVINGS IN THE UK? 3. Do you have PROPERTY IN THE UK?

YES 🔲

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Poland turns the clock back

HE surprise victory of the Solidarity movemen in the Polish elections has its roots in previous defeat. Four years ago, one-third of the electorate was effectively disenfranchised because it voted for small warring parties which failed to gain a single seat. This time more than 30 diverse groups, banded together in the Solidarity Election Action (AWS), appear to have re-enfranchised the same proportion of the voters. Though the governing Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) has done better than last time, it is not enough. On the face of it, Poland is entering a period of stable politics with clearly identifiable government and opposition: yet the real picture is likely to prove rather less neat and perhaps less stable too.

True, there is a sense of the familiar democratic revolving door. Some voters have simply vented their discontent with current economic difficulties on the party in power, reversing the decision taken four years ago. Opinion polls suggest that in doing so they believe, somewhat inconsistently, that a change of government will not make much difference anyhow. But past history has also been a complicating factor here as elsewhere in eastern Europe. Foreign investors may have regarded the (ex-communist) SLD as being more likely to maintain stability than the (ex-populist) Solidarity alliance, but many other Polish electors have voted as much for past memory as current reality. The issue of collaboration with the secret police has been exploited too.

The AWS, led by Marian Krzaklewski, must now link up with the pro-reform Freedom Union (UW) if it is to form an effective coalition. Though both parties have their origins in the same place, that only illustrates the disparate nature of the former movement. The AWS may indeed find it easier to cohabit with the former communist president, Aleksander Kwasniewski, than with the former Solidarists of the UW. These endorse the new constitution that the AWS has threatened to overthrow because it does not attach sufficient weight to the role of the Roman Catholic Church. The AWS's trade union constituency will also be wary of the UW's commitment to the faster privatisation of state-owned industry. The UW itself will look just as warily — and rightly so — at Mr Krzaklewski's fervent commitment to "pro-family" issues, including opposition to last year's reversal by parliament of the post-communist ban on

Statements from both parties on Monday did not promise an easy harmonisation of interests. The blzarre alternative of an AWS coalition with the uitra-right Movement for Reconstruction of Poland plus the old orthodox left Peasants' Party was even being floated. This, in turn, might leave the UW and the SLD as potential partners for reform. The Polish electorate may soon be wondering what they have voted for unless the party leaders, across the spectrum, can quickly reassure them.

Wales says Yes - but . . .

N THE night it was Wales that produced the best political theatre. All the pre-vote build-up had concentrated on Scotland, with the proposed | that will be respected by the media, in balance Cardiff assembly a bit of an also-ran. In the event, | with other rights. And then there needs to be a though, the Scottish result lacked all suspense, while voters from Conwy to Caerphilly pulled off a great British political cliffhanger. Handfuls of votes separated the two sides, with the Noes ahead from the first to the penultimate result. The very last district settled it, when the Welsh heartland of Carmarthenshire suddenly turned the entire night on its head - and delivered the slimmest of victories for devolution.

A winning margin of 0.6 per cent, and a turnout that just scraped 50 per cent, means that Wales has whispered Yes - with a loud hint of Maybe. The Government has achieved a technical, rather than a moral, mandate for its policy of Welsh selfrule. The knife-edge ambivalence of the Wales decision will have a direct bearing not only on the new assembly, but on the larger dream of spreading power throughout Britain.

Tony Blair seemed to recognise this fact. He accepted that he now has to reassure those who were scared by the prospect of Wales going its own way. | serves his privacy. So do the rest of us.

its actions, prove that decentralisation does not mean break-up. The three in four Welsh voters who either said No or didn't bother turning up have to be persuaded that what's coming is not a slide toward nationalism.

The first move will come later this year with the creation of the all-party commission promised in the white paper. Labour will gather with its allies from the Yes for Wales effort — Liberal Democrats, Greens and nationalists — to draw up the rules and "wider culture" of the assembly Chastened by the narrowness of their victory, they should design a body free of the faults of which the No campaigners warned. They have to make sure it's not just a talking shop and that its costs will be met from savings made by cutting quangos. The scale of the victory in Scotland means that the Edinburgh bill will go through Parliament virtually on the nod. But the near-defeat in Wales will guarantee extra-vigilance, with anti-devolution MPs confident enough to subject the Welsh legislation to line-by-line scrutiny. This is a healthy development; it will make the Cardiff assembly a

The larger question concerns the spread-out of power in England. A BBC/NOP poll last week found more than 80 per cent of Londoners ready to vote for an assembly and a mayor for the capital. Tyneside is already mobilising its own campaign for greater self-rule. They would probably follow Scotland — while the Midlands may share the divided sentiments of Wales. The simple fact is that not every part of Britain has the same desires and needs. One size does not fit all. And that, after all, is why Britain needs decentralisation in the

Redefining the bounds of decency

THE DOGS were muzzled, the guns silenced. Warring British editors finally sat down together last week to discuss the ways in which the press can convince a sceptical public that this time they really mean it. Little was decided, but the Code Committee of the Press Complaints Commission (PCC) did at least issue a constructive statement acknowledging that things had to change. Lord Wakeham, the commission's chairman, is drawing up some tough new guidelines which he was due to announce later this week.

It is to be hoped that Lord Wakeham realises that he has it in his power to do something historic. There is a gradual acceptance among most sentient journalists that the culture of intrusion pioneered by Rupert Murdoch 30 or so years ago has spread too far and too fast. Whatever the eventual conclusion about the last minutes of Princess Diana's life there is now a guilty acknowledgement that the media had collectively edged beyond rea-sonable bounds. Celebrity stalking had turned into a lucrative game with virtual victims who were expected to feel no pain.

That culture surely ended with Princess Diana's death. The recent spate of declarations that paparazzi pictures will henceforth be shunned were a welcome public manifestation of the genuine soul-searching currently going on within newsrooms. But the public mood will not be satisfied if leading players in the media feel they can stop at that. There needs to be an explicit acceptance that privacy is a fundamental human right swift statement of the ways in which the PCC will turn that acceptance into a tougher, well-policed, Code of Practice.

That is Lord Wakeham's task, and he should be as ambitious as possible. He will never again have such a moment to clean up the press's act. No tabloid proprietor or editor is currently going to find much public support for a heroic defence of snooping, bugging or paying people to kiss and tell. He should simply state what limits he thinks reasonable in a civilised, liberal democracy.

Mr Murdoch will not like any of this, but he must learn to live with it. William Shawcross's not unfriendly biography of the News International chairman makes a telling point: "The constant salacious invasions of privacy that his papers have practised, and which have helped to finance [his] empire, are not easy to reconcile with the walls of privacy that he and Anna [his wife] erected around themselves and their family." Mr Murdoch de-

Britain's Tories flirting with self-destruction

John Gray

N OMINOUS pattern is emerging around William Hague. It does not have a great deal to do with his performance as Tory leader. Recently the Conservative party chairman, Cecil Parkinson, has been at pains to distance himself from Hague's illadvised criticisms of the prime minister following the funeral of Diana. Parkinson's stance is in tune with a widespread Tory mood of discontent with Hague. But the whisperings that already surround Hague's leadership are more than responses to his evident inexperience. They show a party hopelessly divided about its future in a headlong decline that it does not know

The Conservatives are rudderless not because they have chosen a weak leader, but because the social base of their party has disintegrated and they lack any coherent political project. They cannot resolve the conflicts between Thatcherites and One Nation Tories that led them into the abyss on election day.

This intractably split party con fronts a Government that is bent on an historic realignment at the centre British politics. It aims to overcome the divisions among progressive parties and politicians that allowed the Tories to rule for most of this century. If it succeeds it will give Britain's liberal majority a political dominance it has not had since before the first world war.

Hague seems fated to relive the humiliations that dogged John Major throughout his career as prime minister; but wherens Major's eadership was at times dignified by a touch of tragedy, his successor's already has an air of farce. The Tory leader lacks an instinctive feel for the society that 18 years of Conserv ative government has engendered When Hague appeared at the Notting Hill festival sporting a coconut drink, he had the carefree but bemused look of a tourist stranded in an unfamiliar land.

Hague is at one with most of his party in his directionless bufflement Conservatives today find themselves lost in a country that is foreign to them. They are casualties of a social revolution that they themselves engineered but whose nature and consequences they have yet to understand. The country that Hague imagines himself equipped to gov-ern has changed beyond recognition from that which Margaret Thatcher inherited in 1979. Only

Tories appear to find this surprising. Thatcher was possessed by a vision of a country whose institutions had been ruthlessly reshaped but whose character remained miraculously unaltered. Markets were injected into hospitals and universities, council tenants were chivvied into buying their homes, public services were scorned as feckless repositories of unthinking compassion, and job insecurity was intensified for a host of occupations and professions. No corner of

British life was left undisturbed Despite all the social dislocations that these policies produced, the Conservatives imagined Britain would still somehow be the place mocked in the post-war Ealing films, a nation of stoical conformists

bicycling impassively changeless village greens.

This picture may have had a time semblance of reality in the Briting the 1950s and 1960s that had be moulded into something approaching one nation by the relorning Labour government of 1945. By to time Major left office, it was his more than a confection of the Tor media. In combination with the changes in the world economy. Co servative policies had undone to social and family structures their derpinned pre-Thatcher Britain

The unravelling of the inhering class culture by new aspirations: nequalities, the enfranchisement vomen at work, majority accept tance of a diversity of cultures at lifestyles . . . these changes have je to run their course, but they be aiready made the older Britaint: " is captured in Tory mythologyim

The Conservative party has changed as much as any other British institution. It has been to clining since the 1950s, but its deap has been spectacular since t-Thatcherite glory days of the b 1980s. The Conservatives have a the full force of the break-up of 6: erence and collapse of trust in its. intions that are the hallmark. post-Thatcherite Britain.

That is not to say that the Tor party has accepted the county. policies have helped to create a present it is largely an embodime of resistance to it. The Conservation party has become the redouble hose, such as the hunting w shooting fraternities, who feel also. nted from the liberal mainstream But even those who reject today! Britain cannot escape from it.

TIE TORIES are not the dela ential tribe of pre-Thatche times. Today the Consent tive party is a fractious and what rganisation in which the leader's lways on trial. Another change of leader will at

siem Conservative decline. Tories' troubles do not stem for lague. They come from the socie the Tories helped to create. By in posing a harsh modernission of Britain's economy, Thatcher may socialism a marginal ideology. the same time she destroyed these cial structures that made course vatism a feasible political project.

The Government appears onto mined to seize the opportunity for alignment at the centre of Britis up. Blair's unprecedented initial bringing the Liberal Democrats of a cabinet committee is not a respon to any electoral necessity. It can be understood only as a move in a large strategy the aim of which is the vention of liberal Britain.

There are still some who see purring with satisfaction since the landslide of May 1 as an elector end of the summer break, Not for the first time, Fausto swing which the pendulum more ment of post-war politics can be Bertinotti, leader of Rifondazione relied upon to reverse. They have Communista, an orthodox Marxist failed to grasp the scale of the Co party and a coalition member, has heen causing trouble over welfare servative collapse and the ambi reform, But Prodi takes it all philoof Blair's Government. We may witnessing the beginnings of men of co-operation among the sophically. There is no question of hanging the composition of the and politicisms that express he reon — if that were to happen, he would stand down. What Prodi seems to be implying the Tories will be seen off for good is that if Bertinotti wants to spark a in a single European currency will

John Gray is professor of politic Oxford university

Le Monde

Zapatista rebel leader sticks to his guns

Bertrand de la Grange in Mexico City

AITHFUL to the strategy he has implemented since organising the Indian uprising in the southeastern Mexican state of Chiapas in January 1994, the Zapatista guerrilla leader, Subcomandante Marcos, has pulled another surprise. He has announced that he does

not intend either to lay down his arms or to join the Zapatista National iberation Front (FZLN), a new olitical organisation set up by his supporters in Mexico City on September 16.

Marcos was responding to optimistic statements by government members, who had welcomed the ormation of the FZLN. "We have made a mistake," he said in a message from Chiapus to activists who had converged on Mexico City to adopt the FZLN's programme and

"When we called for the FZLN to e set up we thought that peace was round the corner and that our rebellion ought to seek other forms of struggle. (But) the government has refused to answer our just demands, thus preventing us from turning ourselves into a political, civilian and peaceful organisation in order to continue the struggle."

Marcos said that the war was coninning in the south and that the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) would not lay down its arms until its demands had been met.

The rebel leader, a former hilosophy student who gained coniderable support in leftwing Mexican and international circles when he defended the Indian community nd attacked neo-liberalism, die lowever, say that the FZLN should go aliend, "to strike fear into the pow-

Javier Elorriaga, a former political cadre in the guerrilla movement and now the leading light of the new rganisation, stressed that the FZLN would be "nutonomous" and should not be regarded as the 'EZLN's political wing".

"We shall be two brothers, but we

Michel Bôle-Richard in Rome

HE bonsai olive tree in the

- office of the Italian prime

ninister, Romano Prodi, survived

accidentally destroyed by fire on

Olive Tree is the name of his

fine," said Prodi, who has been

must mean the coalition is doing done.

September 11.



Does this mark a U-turn by the population so that democracy his sometimes bellicose, sometimes poetic communiques with consummate skill to fight a government that has incomparably greater fireleal with his dialectics?

Marcos says it does not, pointing out that he has always said that the guerrilla movement would not disarm until the government had learnt, under pressure from "civilian society", to "command while obeying" — the Zapatista rebels' now cel-

It was Marcos who, in January 1996, first mooted the idea of setting up the FZLN, and who, in a text sublished last month, defined its structures, dogma and sims (which are a carbon copy of the EZLN's).

The FZLN, like the EZLN, intends to keep its distance from politlcal parties, with which it refuses to collaborate. It says it is not interested in taking power, but instead prefers to concentrate on mobilising the most underprivileged sections of

new parliamentary session. It will

pensioners. Everyone agrees that

The government has been work-

is no easy solution. The latest bright

idea is a social credit card that

would enable its holder to draw

state benefits. Bertinotti refuses to

allow certain vested benefits to be

Prodi, however, remains confi-

dent: "In the past few years the gov-

ernment has never been as stable as

it is now." He hopes to be able to

continue his policies until the spring

of 1998, when the first participants

crisis over the welfare reform, be selected, and thus reap the bene-

ing with the trade unions, but there

Prodi keeps Italy on the road to reform

union, then so be it.

centre-left coalition, which has the system needs reform, but no

ruled Italy since May 1996. "This one is agreed on how it should be

Marcos, who in the past has used | can be exercised "from the bottom" and the government forced to How exactly it intends to do so is

not made clear, but Marcos's deci sion to maintain an active guerrilla novement in southern Mexico may be regarded as a way of putting pressure on the government. Marcos's latest change of direction has thrown the Mexican far left

into greater confusion. It had already been seriously joited by constant infighting and the recent electoral successes of the legal left, which won the local and mayoral contests in Mexico City and itscreased its representation in parliament at the expense of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRD, which has been in power since 1929.

According to the organisers of the FZLN's founding conference, barely 400 people participated in its 14 "kles workshops". The workshops took place in a chaotic atmo-sphere and were conducted largely

The achievements of Prodi's

welcomed in many quarters, from

They accept that the medicine, although unpalatable, has produced

results and that there are definite

signs of a recovery, albeit a timid

one. GDP during the second quar-

ter of this year increased by 1.5 per

cent over the first quarter. Growth

could rise to 1.2 per cent this year,

and is expected to increase to at

Prodi is lapping up praise from

those who were scathingly critical

of him less than a year ago. Inflation

continues to fall, and the lira has

been thriving since its re-admission

into the European exchange-rate

mechanism (ERM) last November.

Despite Bertinotti's antics, the

least 2 per cent in 1998.

which is vital for Italy if it is to | fit of the massive drive to stabilise

become a rock-solid member of the economy that has been accom-

This will be the real test of the centre-left government have been

finances and the future of old-age | the Italian employers' federation,

Confindustria.

Europe's economic and monetary | plished in the past year,

"observers" who had travelled from Chiapas to break out of their "political and military encirclement". Whatever the future of the FZLN

events of the past few days have once again spotlighted the conflict in Chiapas and the appalling plight Mexico's 9 million Indians.

The Zapanistas have been ableuse the local press as a mouthpiece. to denounce the "militarisation" of various regions and to demand that the government come up with a constitutional reform package that takes account of the accords it signed with the EZLN in February 1996.

A difference of interpretation over the concept of Indian autonomy. which led to talks being broken off In August 1996, caused the present leadlock. However, recent statements by President Ernesto Zedillo and the interior minister, Emilio Chuayifet, pledging to show "flexibility in order to resume the dialogue", suggest talks could start agaiл soon.

crisis is in the offing. How real is

says: "Bertinotti's skirmishing

within the coalition is a sham. I'm in

creasingly convinced there won't be

other hand, has run into a squall.

Pierferdinando Casini, leader of the

questioned Silvio Berlusconi's lead-

Fini had to make considerable diplo-

matic efforts to get the two men to

Redusconi's Forza Italia narty.

Cesare Previti, who was defence

prime minister and is a close friend,

aces jail for corruption at the

request of the "Clean Hands" team

of magistrates in Milan. Parliament

will decide next week whether to

(September 16)

Christian Democrats' Centre, has

any governmental crisis."

agree to an uneasy truce.

agree to their request.

A rethink on the nuclear energy route

EDITORIAL

THE French nuclear industry has suffered two setbacks. The environment minister, Domi nique Voynet, has accused the state-owned nucleur energy utility. Cogema, of having made a "mistake" when de-scaling the pipes of its plant at La Hague. Meanwhile the prime minister Lionel Jospin, announced that he had asked the state-owned Electricité de France (EDF) to abandon its plans to build a nuclear power station at 1. Curnet, in the Loire estuary.

These two moves indicate the government's determination to change the rules for the nucleur adustry. From now on, there will be no question of it being allowed to function in a secret and unsupervised way.

Voynet, the leader of the Greens, made this clear when she took up her ministerial job in June. She reiterated the government's nim, which she said was "to separate the functions of the supervisor from the super cised in a high-risk area".

Cogema's management did not wenn to get the message: on June 16 they sent divers to confiscate submarine equipment being used by Greenpeace, which wanted to show that the La Hague plant was not being operated as it should.

Now there will be no question of EDF hatching plans for new power stations, which regularly run into fierce opposition - not only from environmentalists but also from an increasing number of local people.

Coming as it does after the decision to close down the Superphénix fust-breeder reactor at Creys-Malville, in southeastern France, the scrapping of the Le Carnet project shows that the government is phasing out the previous nuclear-only energy policy.

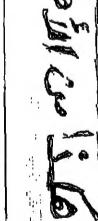
In deciding to protect natural vetlands in the Loire estuary, optimism. Yet the press has been Jospin has responded to a wide-spread feeling that technological full of speculation that a coalition progress should no longer take the risk? Gianfranco Fini, president of the neo-fascist National Alliance, priority over natural heritage.

France is already well equipped with nuclear reactors. its nuclear power-station construction programme, started just after the first oil shock of 1973, will be completed this vear. More than 80 per cent of electricity supplied by EDF is generated by nuclear reactors, a ership of the centre-right grouping level unparalleled eisewhere in mown as the Freedom Alliance. the world.

The government now has to allow for the replacement of the current power stations, which These stirrings of dissidence will not take place until 2010. come at a time when a deputy in | That was one of the sims of building a reactor at Le Carnet.

What it must urgently do if it minister when the media mogul was is to meet France's future needs is to decide what proportion of its energy should be produced by thermal power stations, and also perhaps to encourage the development of renewable energy

(September 18)



Weary of the school of hard knocks

Opposition to 'ragging' at French colleges is growing, writes Vincent Hubé

RANCE'S junior education minister, Ségolène Royal, is on the war-path; she wants to put an end to the barbaric practice known as bizutage or "ragging" — an initiation ritual which looks more like bullying and is often imposed on lirst-year students at several grandes écoles (prestigious universitylevel colleges).

"Freshers" are allowed only five hours' sleep at night and 10 minutes for lunch. They are constantly taunted by second-year students, forced to do endless press-ups, and prevented from leaving the campus or making telephone calls without the permission of their seniors.

"The worst thing was the physical and mental fatigue," says Jérôme, who was put through the mill at a branch of the engineering college Ensam in the small Burgundian town of Cluny. The Cluny college, housed in a former Cistercian monastery and almost exclusively attended by boarders, has a reputation for being particularly tough. "What was also hard to put up with was the lack of privacy. And you became obsessed with what you were going through."

His only escape was the sick bay. His room provided no sanctuary, as the college administration had kindly supplied second-year students with keys to newcomers' lodgings.

Those who approve of bizutage argue that it creates a bond of solllarity among students. Jérôme calls t "brainwashing". The historian Charles Day, in his book on engineering schools, Les Ecoles D'Arts Et Métiers (Belin, 1991), quotes from The Book Of Traditions, a kind of sacred handbook for engineering students. It says that the purpose of bizutage is to "take a rough-hewn object, make it suffer, rub off the corners and make it interchangeable with others".

The Book Of Traditions also quotes a president of the powerful Society of Former Students as saying: "The aim of the 'traditions' is to create a homogenisation of behaviour from the start and to restrict character deviation

Jérôme and a friend protested against these breaches of individual freedom, and their parents wrote repeatedly to the Ensam administration. This resulted in the two students being insulted, threatened and, in the end, "excluded" from

That meant they could no longer



machine and were barred from all college associations. The whole process was supervised by the students' bureau, which had organised the bizutage in the first place. After six months of such treatment, Iérôme decided to transfer to auother Ensam college elsewhere.

In December 1995, a report on Ensam by the CNE, an independent teaching assessment body, de-nounced the college's "barbaric" characteristics and its "degrading and allenating practices". The so-called "traditions", it went on, were "harmful to students' work". It said that students who refused to accept bizutage became "pariahs in their own college".

Two years after the publication of the report, which angered former students, the head of Ensam, Guy Gautherin, announced that there were to be major changes in the way first-year students were treated, 'Getting newcomers to integrate does not necessitate this kind of treatment," he said.

Gautherin was an Ensam student himself before taking up a teaching career. He was shocked, on his return to Ensam, by the bad atmosphere in its colleges. In November 1995, he ordered the Châlons-sur-Marne and Cluny branches of Ensam to be closed for a week because students had not respected the date on which bizutage was suppased to end.

His aim for the new academic year, which starts on September 22,

compulsory or unpleasant practices such as the waking up of students, continual demand for press-ups and constant abuse. "I shall use the legislative measures announced by Ségolène Royal to make sure the reforms are accepted by the okler students," Gautherin said.

It is not certain that he will win the battle. The 26,000-strong Society of Former Students still stoutly defends what it calls Ensam's "values". The prestige of the Society, whose members include company bosses and leading engineers, means it is still held in awe by many students, who suffer bizulage one year and impose it on others the next.

In 1995, Aude Wacziarg published a book describing her experiences as a student at the highly regarded lesuit college, the Lycée Sainte-Geneviève in Versailles. Wacziarg, a cheerful person, was proud to get into one of the best schools that prepare pupils for a university-level naths course. But she spent her first weeks there crawling along

rocky streams, cating dog food and getting her hair plastered with eggs, lour, ketchup and cod-liver oil. More insidious even than this repeated humiliation was the psychological indoctrination. "Bizutage is no different from massive brainwashing," she now says. At the time, she hid the truth from her mother, who was alarmed when her daughter came to spend her first weekend home to see that she had

clude herself from the group. It was only after several weeks that she dared admit to herself that she ! could take no more and that she had suffered inhunane treatment. When her book came out, the management of the Lyene Sainte-Geneviève denounced it as a pack of

It was out of the question for

Wacziarg to admit to being weak;

and she was determined not to ex-

lles; but that same year they officially banned bizutage at the school. Other establishments have also outlawed the practice — the Polytechnique some 30 years ago, and the Ecole Vétérimire at Maisons-Alfort in the early nineties.

ANY colleges decided to ban this modern form of noviciate because they feared the repercussions of adverse publicity. Others will have to watch their step now that Royal is stepping up anti-bizutage legislation.

Her bill on the prevention of sexual delinquency, which is due to become law in October, penalises any pupil or student who, "through constraint or pressure of any kind, inposes on another papil or student acts, postures or conduct that are contrary to human dignity, in the course of events or meetings in a school or educational cuvironment". Offenders are liable to a six-month jail sentence and a fine of 50,000 francs (\$800).

This week Royal is scuding instructions to heads of colleges to victimising younger students. ensure that their internal regula-

(September 12) once again spotlights the inhumane | The Chechen supreme court

which are rampant with disease and executions. On September 11, Russia 52

(September 14-15)

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tions, which are often very star are properly observed. If inting. ments occur, she is prepared to send senior schools inspector to the establishments involved and a penalise — administratively adthrough the courts - all sub students and colleges suspected of complicity.

Royal presented her proposed measures at a round-table confe ence organised by the Nation' Committee against Bizutage. The committee was set up only last sm mer by a philosophy teacher. Alexandre Andujar, who managed to obtain the co-operation of often warring bodies - the three min teachers' unions, the two parest teacher associations, the Human Rights League and the Magistrate

The committee applauded Royli measures. As Andujar pointed out i s a good idea to remind people that forbidden to break the law, even on he pretext of respecting tradition.

But will the law be respected to many colleges, "integration sedends" have already replaced bize : age. The danger is that such event take place outside college premisand therefore escape administrative control. It looks as though th forbidden practices may persist but n secret.

Not all forms of bizutage have the historic" roots of practices a Ensure or the Lycee Saints Geneviève. Hitherto unknown be Iniviour has been observed within the past 10 years in medical facilties. That was something Dr Chris tiane Lobrycau-Desaus discovered only two years ago when herdaush ter, a first year student at the Creed medical faculty, became a victim.

Neither the girl's mother nor ha ather, who had both studied a Créteil, had experienced any bizutage there. But their daughter was prevented from going to the toileter using the canteen or car park, and forced to wear a plak showeres round her neck and watch pomo graphic films when she should hat reen attending lectures.

The situation in medical facultivaries from city to city. In Relias it is second-year students who are but lied by colleagues in their third or fourth year, "They are my fordes tuemories as a student — it was t fortnight long rave-up," says Reed a student who has both suffered and

administered bizatage. The "rave-up" consisted of spen ng the night tied to scaffolding being plastered to a chair or being forced to take off his clothes Those who didn't want to say around could go out. We force anyone," he says. He admits he would not do the same today, Be has matured and is now more into ested in passing his exams han is

GUARDIAN WEEKLY



China's Party Makes Changes at the Top

former geologist who serves on two

"leading groups," or inter-depart-

mental policy committees: one deal-

Steven Mufson in Belling

HINA'S COMMUNIST Party added a corruption fighter and a former foreign trade minister to ts supreme seven-man Standing Committee last week and named seven new members to the powerful 22-person Politburo.

The new appointments rounded out a technocratic leadership, much of it trained in the Soviet Bloc during the 1950s, that appears likely to ocus on managing economic modernization while taking a cautious approach to political reform.

"This is a leadership that believes modernization rather than democratization," said a leading Western academic in Beijing.
Another academic, David Sham-

baugh, political science professor and director of the Sigur Center for Asian Studies at George Washington University, described the new lineup as "centrist, cautious, conservative, and colorless."

In the new leadership, economic policy-maker Zhu Rongji has risen to the third-ranked slot, up from fifth, widely seen as a sign that he will become China's next premier in March. Only President and Communist Party chief Jiang Zemin and Premier Li Peng rate higher.

The new Polithuro members in- | Committee meant a standoff over clude two senior military officers. whether to put Gen. Zhang Wannian provincial party secretaries from Jiangxi and Henan, the party leader of Beijing, a central party bureaucrat who already holds powerful behind-the-scenes positions, and a The two new faces on the Stand-

ing with financial and economic reforms and the other with science and technology. The new appointments came one day after the forced retirement of our Politburo members, including Qiao Shi, head of the National People's Congress and leading patron of liberal reformers, and Gen. Liu Huaging, the country's most senior military leader. Qiao and Liu were also members of the more impor-

tant Standing Committee. With Gen. Liu gone, there was no military representative left on the new Standing Committee. Until last veek, Liu, 80, provided a voice for the military at the highest level of government. Now the armed forces will have to rely on two Politburo seats and on President Jiang Zemin,

Central Military Commission. Many analysts said the absence of a military officer on the Standing

who also serves as chairman of the

or Defense Minister Chi Haotian in the most inner circle. In the end, both were simply placed on the

The Washington Post

ing Committee are Wei Jianxing, 66, and Li Langing, 65. Wei heads the party's Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, the watchdog group charged with rooting out coruption in the party. Wel was installed as acting party secretary in Beijing after a multimillion-dollar embezziement scandal involving the previous party secretary. He is credited with helping to resolve that case. During the Cultural Revolution, he was stripped of his posts and was forced to work in a factory.

Wei has been widely considered an ally of the relatively liberal Qiao, and some analysts saw his selection to the Standing Committee's number six slot as a gesture to Qiao and to his followers in the party.

During the Cultural Revolution Li was sent to the countryside for three years. In the 1980s, he served in the Tianjin mayor's office before moving to Beijing to join the Foreign Trade Ministry. Since last year, he has been working on education

Spate of Air Crashes Worries Military

Bradley Graham

military aviation disasters, an Air Force B-1 bomber on a raining mission in Montana crashed last week, killing all four crew members on board, the Air Force announced.

It was the sixth military air crash in seven days. After the fifth mishap, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen ordered all military services to take a 24hour break in training flights to review safety procedures.

Air Force spokesmen had few details about what happened to the B-1, which belonged to the 28th Bomb Wing at Ellsworth Air Force Base in South Dakota. The plane was reported to have been on a training mission in a military operating area before it went down in the southeastern

corner of Montana, near the state line with Wyoming. The T XTENDING a recent rash of B-1 was carrying no weapons at ; the time of the crash, the Air Force said in a statement,

It was the 11th of the longrange bombers to be lost since the plane entered service in 1985, leaving 94 in the fleet, according to Air Force officials. Initially designed to carry nuclear weapons, the B-1 no longer has a nuclear capability and has never flown in combat.

The recent spate of aviation accidents has confounded defense officials, who say they can discern no common pattern that might explain the sudden surge. Each incident has involved a different type of aircraft and different apparent causes. On September 13, an Air

Force C-141 transport jet with nine aboard collided with a

of southern Africa as a result of what U.S. sources say was an error by a foreign air traffic controller. The following day, an F-117 fighter jet making low passes during an air show north of Baltimore suddenly lost pieces of its left wing and fell to the ground, erupting in flames. A Navy F/A-18 fighter jot then

dropped into the Persian Gulf, and a Marine Corps plane plunged into the swamps of North Carolina, Earlier, two F-16 fighter jets from a National Guard unit collided off the New Jersey coast during a training

This year the U.S. military has suffered fewer aircraft losses from accidents, 54, than in any recent year. It lost 67 last year, 69 in 1995 and 86 in 1994, according to Pentagon statistics.

U.S. Pulls Out of **Ban on Land Mines**

Dana Priest and Charles Trueheart

RESIDENT CLINTON an nounced last week that the United States will not join an international treaty banning antipersonnel land mines, resisting worldwide pressure on the ground that the ban could put U.S. troops at risk in time of war, which he called 'a line I simply could not cross."

The U.S. withdrawal from negotiations, which came the same day that 89 countries meeting in Oslo, Norway, endorsed the treaty lanquage, was greeted with jubilation md relief by humanitarian groups and countries that support the ban. Many negotiators believed Washington was trying to dilute the treaty with a last-minute counterproposal and a flurry of telephone calls between the White House and foreign heads of states.

"We are not prepared to pay any price" for Washington's approval sald Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy, who spearheaded the process.

The treaty prohibits countries from using all antipersonnel land mines, small explosive devices that have created a humanitarian crisis because they maim and kill 25,000 civilians each year, many in countries no longer at war. Signatories will have up to four years to destroy their stockpiles of land mines, and up to 10 years to clear areas that have been mined.

The Pentagon praised Clinton's decision and Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms, R-South Carolina, called it "a courageous act." Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vermont, the foremost U.S. advocate of a ban, pledged to push ahead with legislation to ban land mines that has already won bipartisan support.

At a news conference with his top national security advisers, Clinton said he believed the United States had gone "the extra miles and beyond" to seek a compromise on the treaty. But some administration officials acknowledged the United States had gotten into the negotiations too late to shape a treaty that could be accepted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The administration was put on the defensive from the moment its negotiators arrived in Oalo last months-long, grassroots campaign that had grown into a worldwide humanitarian crusade.

"I'm pleased the United States had the grace to withdraw. . . I'm proud of the governments , who stood up to the onslaught of the remaining superpower, coming in and pushing and shoving to get its way," said Jody Williams, head of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines. "We hope President Clinton will take his confused internal polfey home and fix it."

However, many proponents of the treaty have argued that U.S. particination is essential to its success. Without U.S. leadership, they be-lieve it will be more difficult to persuade the world's largest users and

cluding China and Russia, to join the treaty, Neither country participated in the Oslo negotiations.

Clinton announced a series of uni lateral initiatives, including a re quest to Congress to add \$12 million to U.S. efforts to help other countries demining their lands.

However, the measures would not, as Clinton said, "climinate all anti-personnel land mines from America's arsenal."

Clinton's top arms control ad viser, Robert Bell, told reporters that the United States had no intention of finding alternatives to the millions of antipersonnel land mines it uses to prevent enemy troops from breaching anti-tank minefields. The vast majority of the antipersonnel land mines the United States now uses are for that purpose.

Pentagon officials who reviewed an advance copy of Clinton's text tried unsuccessfully to get the White House to remove the inaccu racy, Later in the day, Defense Sec. retary William S. Cohen issued a statement saying, in part, that U.S. roops "will continue to deploy antipersonnel mines used to protee anti-tank mines.

Some of Clinton's other measure fell short of the U.S. counterproposal at Oslo. He said he had directed the Pentagon to find alternatives to other self-destructing mines, or "smart mines," by 2003. In its counterproposal, made carlier, the Clinton administration would have agreed to give up the use of those mines.

Clinton also directed the Defense Department to find alternatives by the year 2006 for antipersonne mines the United States stockpiles for use in Korea, the same amount of time offered in the counterproposal. He pledged to redouble U.S. efforts to win a global antipersonnel land mine ban in the United Nations Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, which this year failed to begin talks

requested by the U.S. on land mines. The ban approved in Oslo is supported by many U.S. allies, including Britain, Germany and Mexico. but is opposed by many states that produce and use mines, including China, Russia, India, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq. South Korea, Kuwait, Japan and Israel also oppose it.

Humanitarian organizations that lobbied for the unprecedented disarmament treaty, the first to limit a conventional weapon, were jubilant at the outcome of the grueling negoas quixotic and unrealistic. Support for the treaty gathered momentum from the well-publicized sponsorship of Diana, Princess of Wales, before her death the day before the conference opened.

"Humanity still has the power to move nations," declared Louise Doswald-Beck of the International Committee of the Red Cross, one of the leaders of the land mine-ban

Antitank mines, set off by the weight of a large vehicle or by the magnetic force of large metal objects are permitted under the ban, as are many kinds of anti-tampering devices used to stop enemy troops from removing them.

manufacturers of land mines, in- Clearing up the mess, page 20



Russia's Death Row prisoners seek early end Jean-Baptiste Naudet In Moscow tember 11 that several people under sentence of death had written to manent halt to executions. But it did

PRISON conditions in Russia have been described by Amnesty International more than once as akin to "torture". The situation has now become so bad that some prisoners on Death Row say they have had enough and are suffering a fate worse than death.

They want to be executed as soon as possible, in the best Soviet tradition, by being shot without warning in the back of the head.

Yuri Skuratov, the Russia's chief | death. public prosecutor, revealed on Sep- The Council protested. In Feb Moscow in more than one sense. It

paradox is that the law is on the side of such prisoners, but they are

Council and signed conventions forbidding it to carry out executions. But Russia violated its pledges by continuing secretly to shoot prison | no legal grounds for not executing ers who had been sentenced to

falling victim to the "good inten-tions" of the Strasbourg-based Council of Europe. In February 1996, Russia was

him asking to get it over with. The not change its legislation. The government simply relied on Boris Yeltsin's presidential prerogative of pardon.

The trouble is that, according to the chief public prosecutor, 35 per cent of those sentenced to death accepted as a member of the refuse to apply for a pardon. Some of them have even written to the authorities demanding to be executed. As Skuratov points out, "there are

The issue is an embarrassment to

so overcrowded that detainees sometimes have to take turns to sleep, and where, as in the days of the gulag, ordinary prisoners are tyrannised by hardened criminals with the blessing of the prison authorities. It also casts a new light on Moscow's outburst of indignation at

the public executions that took place in Chechenia last week. Despite having refused to pardon dozens of Russian prisoners on Death Row last year — when the moratorium was in place — Yeltsin described the executions in Chechenia as "barbaric and illegal".

conditions in Russian prisons, since suspended its contro

intended to urge the Council of Europe, which Yeltsin is due to address in Strasbourg in October, in "examine the matter" - the matter being, of course, the executions

> Le Monde Directeur: Jean-Marie Colo World copyright by

Ducking the Drugs Debate

COMMENT Richard Cohen

N THE Helms-Weld heavyweight fight, almost everyone won. Jesse Helms won because he got his way. William Weld, the former Massachusetts governor, won because he got national exposure for his likely presidential run, and President Clinton won because he split the GOP and managed, once again, to take a nonposition position — this time in favor of both Weld and Helms.

lost and not only because Helms, a and protracted, are more often than man with a brick for a brain, was able to cow the entire Senate. We lost because the issues that so vexed Helms saved with needle exchange proand caused him to deny Weld a hear- grams. Study after study shows this

and needle exchange programs for intravenous drug users — were not even debated, Weld favors them both and this, we are told, is why Helms

But Weld is right and Helms is wrong. Helms' compassion and concern for human life, so evident in his furious opposition to abortion, nevertheless excludes drug addicts for some reason. Maybe he thinks they deserve to die. True, they are junkies - law-

breakers and all of that - but the fact remains that they risk their lives every time they use a shared needle. With the drug, they may also be get-We the people of the United States | ting HIV. Their deaths, both cruel

ing — the medicinal use of marijuana | to be the case — everything from one by New York's Beth Israel Hospital to an overall review by a panel of the National Institutes of Health.

The opposition to needle exchange programs is not so much scientific as it is moralistic. To some people, it seems just wrong to aid addicts in their addictions. You can understand such a sentiment. But there is no evidence that needle exchange programs abet drug usage, yet there is plenty of evidence that addicts will use whatever is available to satisfy their craving. In this case, a perfectly understandable moral argument is rebutted by some hard facts.

The argument in favor of the medicinal use of marijuana is not quite as strong - but nonetheless persuasive. Some studies indicate that marijuana has a medical benefit for cancer patients and glaucoma

sufferers, reducing pain and the ill- | but cruel. He personifies the uniteffects of chemotherapy. Others suggest that anything that can be done by marijuana can be done just as well by other -- legal -- drugs.

The fact remains, though, that people who have used put for mediciand purposes swear by it. Richard Brookhiser, a senior contributing editor at the — Jesse take note — very conservative National Review, used marijuana to relieve the nausca of chemotherapy for testicular cancer.

It would be one thing if the drug under discussion was both rare and extremely addictive. But marijuana s as common as red ties in Washingon. Some 70 million Americans have, as they say, experimented. As for its addictive qualities, they are largely exaggerated. Some people, redisposed in some way, apparently do get hooked. The same case, though, can be made against alcohol and, in spades, about cigarettes.

In both cases - needle exchange and the medicinal use of marijuana Helms is not only dead wrong.

inguess of the political establish ment to distinguish between dup

that are very bad and drugs that not so bad, and its insistence of treating our national drug cisc mostly as a criminal-justice man and not as a public health issue ha silly to the point of cruelty to make criminal out of a desperate care Weld gave Clinton an opportunit

to make those points. But the predent apparently once shared a tecdle with a political coward and sole has said nothing on the subject lis drug policy has gone from noneis tent in his first term to mindles in the second. As for Weld, he conducts himself

like a pedigreed cat - haught. independent and sufficient who himself. He lost his ambassadorshi and, probably, the patience of the White House, but he did not lose as much as the rest of us did - he chance to discuss a drug policy that is both inhumane and illogical.

There Are No Safety Nets As the Young Fly the Nest scientific study of the obvious, a pon-derously named National Longitudi-nal Study of Adolescent Health, said

OPINION Ellen Goodman

66 TLIKE TO think of it as the Lempty drawer syndrome," says my friend, reaching for the right, light, touch.

She and her husband have just

delivered their youngest to college and returned to a home that seems as neat as a stage set for a life they are no longer leading. Suddenly,

They have been transformed by time into a household the census bureau describes as a married couole with adult children. But is that still a family? What kind?

I tell her about the television ad in which a husband and wife dance around the kitchen, phone unhooked, deliriously happy to be making stir-fry dinner for two, now that the kids are gone. But for every moment of emancipation my friend feels, there is another moment or three when life seems abruptly down-

Last week, the Clintons followed her well-worn route from home to

It was their turn for this rite of passage. Their turn to move from full-time to part-time parenting. This mother and father will now go from hands on to hands on and off. Chelsea Clinton, the freshman,

seems by any stretch of the imagination, ready. The awkward 12-yearold who came to fame with a potlight gleaming off her braces has become a gracious 17-year-old praised for, of all the abnormal things, her normalcy.

Her parents, criticized for every public move they make, are praised for this job well done. Privacy protected, a child unspoiled, a life as balanced as the ritual breakfasts they are together, the time protected from prying or politics.

Now, right on schedule, these

proud partners in her upbringing are expected to be accomplices in her leave-taking. Indeed the experts, lined up in fine formation to comment on the First Family, all warn about "letting go." They talk about the loosening of strings, apron and otherwise, of parental ties that might bind. Too tightly. Suddenly, too tightly.

How odd this rite is. Recently, a the drawer that's empty.

to slay the course.

did it all along. Up to the last school play, the final admissions essay. But then the 12-year-old is a 17-year-old,

aradon as wide as the country said: "Planes run out there and phones

But this is not some one-day when the young adult wants to be on her own, until the inner child expected to be on call, but cannot put their lives on hold.

moment an infant's cry pierced your sleep? And then, of course,

that it won't take them truly away.

transfer of power. It's a long and ambiguous phase of family life. A time calls home. A time when parents are

This rite of passage is part of the great American balancing act bethat we raise our children to lead. their own lives wherever that takes them - and the unavoidable hope

there is no net that promises safety. As a veteran of this rite, I tell my friend lightly that Thanksgiving comes sooner than you think, that There is indeed e-mail, the phone does work out there. ...

the teen-agers who stay out of trouble are those who slay truly connected to their parents. It was parents, not peers, that mattered the most. The nuted message was to stay involved, Those of us who knew it all along.

the teen-ager in her room becomes the student in her dorm. And now we are told to let go.
The president-father facing a sep-

work out there. E-mail works there, so we'll be all right." And they will.

My friend laughs about the pos sibility of opening a detox center for parents going through withdrawal. What do you do with the part of you that still listens for the car in the driveway? What happens to the expertise acquired, not easily or quickly, in the subject of your own child? What about the fierce responsibility that began the

tween independence and connection. Between the culture and the psyche. Between the expectation

It is a tricky act to perform and sleep comes easier than it did. of them sald in recent interviews:

does work out there.

And at the end of the long and public letters, to use its influprocess, if it goes well, parents and ence with Israel to discourage onechildren are adults connected by sided actions that damage the choice as well as history. It's only climate for peace, such as settle. Reform Jews. "It was absolutely estable peace groups but also former the drawer that's empty. The drawer that's empty. The drawer that's empty.



Riot police evict leftwing Israelis from a rooftop in East Jerusalem last week after Jewish families moved

Many U.S. Jews Fall Out With Netanyahu

Caryle Murphy

S ECRETARY of State Madeleine K. Albright had an enthusiastic source of domestic support when she struck a tough balance in Israel this month, demanding that Palestinians crack down on terrorism and that Israelis halt "provocative" unilateral acts that jeopardize peace talks.

Albright's boosters are promihent, mainstream American Jewish leaders who have begun publicly to signal their frustration with the policies of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu - which they consider partly responsible for the breakdown in the peace process by urging the Clinton administration to adopt a more activist role in dealing with both sides.

These Jewish leaders, who include major contributors to the Democratic Party, have concluded that a more muscular U.S. role, éven if it involves pressure on Israel, is necessary to revive negotiations over implementing the 1993 Oslo Accords, several

They said they have asked the

in East Jerusalem. They have also urged Washington to make clear to Israel that the United States has other national interests in the Middie East, such as the flow of oil and the stability of friendly Arab govern-ments, which are all being adversely affected by lack of progress

Several of these leaders said that they were pleased by Albright's Jewish groups to distance thereblant approach during her first trip selves from Israeli policy. These to the region as secretary of state, in | groups "are becoming more will which she said she aimed to provide to encourage American pressurate the Israelis and the Palestinians a "reality check."

"Albright did what I hoped she would do, which is that she would emphasize not only [PLO leader Yasser] Arafat's obligation to give 100 percent effort on the security issue but to emphasize as well that there isn't going to be a peace process with unilateral actions by Netanyahu," said Theodore R. Mann, a former chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

"I think she struck a good balance," said Rabbi Eric H. Yoffie, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which represents' the nation's 1.5 million

and construction of Jewish homes | would be no bending on the isse of terrorism. The rest of her sufe ments . . . were also appropriate be cause . . . she was pointing out to the government of Israel that...h can't be solely and exclusively a discussion of terrorism."

J. J. Goldberg, author of Jestsh Power, a book about U.S. Jews, sid "What we're seeing is a much great, willingness by mainstream Jews and Jewish groups to distance then cause there's a widespread anger the Likud . . . over the perception list it's undermining the peace process

In light of Israel's deteriorities relations with the Palestinian nearly 100 prominent Jews ve public early last month in an arre-tisement in The New York Time that warmly embraced a specific Albright last month promising more active U.S. mediating role

The ad was signed by promise individuals and eridorsed by the tall largest U.S. Jewish religious of zations; the Union of American is Synagogue of Connervative Judies

Other signatories included not of the long personnel of the long personnel of the long personnel of the long peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the language peace groups but also former lease to the

GUARDIAN WEEKLY Spolember 28 1997

CIA Proffers More Cloak, Less Dagger

cluded trying clandestinely to affect elections and to influence foreign

political leaders, labor leaders and

can countries. One CIA official noted

for you.

As it marks its 50th anniversary, the agency is being steered away from covert action,

writes Walter Pincus

Arun agents who infiltrated terrorist groups in recent years aided in intelligence gathering which helped prevent two attacks against U.S. embassies in the past seven months, the new CIA Director, George J. Tenet, told ongress earlier this year.

Tenet declined to provide details the operations. But in making even that minimal disclosure, he was signaling that while coveri action remains a primary activity at the CIA in the post-Cold War period. there has been a departure from the spy service's often-criticized history of clandestine operations directed at influencing foreign government policies or attempting to remove political leaders, according to

agency officials.
Reflecting the new threats that lace U.S. policy-makers, major covert actions are now being aimed t disrupting terrorist plans, stopoing narcotics shipments or fouling up financial transactions of missile nakers, sources said.

for instance, computer hacker echnology has been used to disrupt international money transfers and other financial activities of Arab usinessmen who support suspected errorists. Military research and dereligiment operations of hostile govruments, such as North Korea, lraq and Iran, have been sabotaged having suppliers sell them faulty parts that will eventually fail.

Other tools permit "spiking" exports and imports to and from logue countries such as Libya and rag with extraneous matter to cre

In the past five to seven years the sophistication of the new tools of covert action have helped bring about a sea change in operations from the old days," according to a senior intelligence official. He added: These operations are easier to do and provide incremental successes. A shipment is stopped. another is sabotaged, we take down a terrorist cell; things like this are

happening now every week."
As the CIA marks the 50th universary of its founding this month, the new approach indicates an important shift in emphasis away from the type of covert actions for which the agency became famous

The agency's operations against te president of Iraq, Saddam Husexiles and former agency operative disappointed in how things turned out in addition, new CIA and Juslice Department investigations into ast agency operations in Central America are expected to be released shortly, guaranteeing more critidsm for the agency's cooperation with drug dealers.

Agents recruited for intelligence Sahering rather than paramilitary operations are "more disciplined," the official said, "They relentlessly wither intelligence on which we can act giving us the option of using tome new tools."

Representative Porter J. Gosé (R-laida), the first chairman of the

and equipment," pointing out that in that House Speaker Newt Gingrich the 1960s, CIA covert action in (R-Georgia) has made well-publicized demands that efforts be made to take stronger steps to undermine the Iranian government. Such pressures worry intelli-

university students without showing U.S. involvement. gence veterans. "Little, dumb covert There still are traditional actions to get Congress off your back are bound to fall," said a smaller-scale covert operations underway against Iran and Iraq that former top-ranking CIA officer with include placing propaganda in local experience in Alghanistan and Eunewspapers or a country's television rope. "Covert action is not a miracle worker," he added. He was par-ticularly critical of exiles from network, leafleting, beaming in radio broadcasts from secret mobile transmitters and supporting exiles. Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq who worked the halls of Congress trying Some are underway because members of Congress want someto gain support for their groups and thing done against such anti-Ameri-

their efforts to regain power.

covert actions were directed against the Soviet Union or communists. In the late 1950s, CIA officials promoted the agency's role in overturning the Guatemalan and Iranian governments and fostered the impression that it could get rid of whatever

leaders or government it wished. The subsequent inability through years of covert actions to topple Cuba's president, Fidel Castro, or Libya's leader, Muanumar Gadafy, did not prevent the agency from being described as the source of coups and guerrilla activities worldwide.

Controversy over CIA covert operations in Central America in the 1980s still rages. Within the next month, a CIA inspector-general re- failed policy," he said.

port is due on allegations that the agency trained a Honduran military unit that committed human rights violations. And later this year, the CIA and Justice Department's pectors general are to deliver agency operatives supporting the Nicaraguan contra rebels at the same time aided Central American drug dealers who brought narcotics into the United States.

At his Senate confirmation hearing in May, Tenet reflected the view of many active and retired officers when he called covert action to change another government's policies "a critical instrument of U.S. foreign policy", but only one instrument among many.

"It should never stand alone, it should never be the last resort of a

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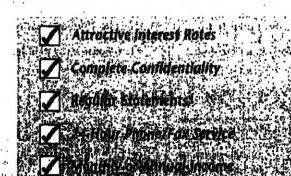
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HAILAND'S beleaguered

government pledged to uc-cept a tough IMP rescue package

after a fresh wave of currency

selling rippled through South-

spoken attacks on speculators

y Malaysia's prime minister,

financier George Soros called

Dr Mahathir a loose cannon and

RICE WATERHOUSE and

Britain's largest accountants,

biggest accountancy firm in the

world, leading to fears that fees

will spiral, choice will be limited

and smaller firms will be forced

to one in four in Britain.

plan to merge to create the

Coopers & Lybrand, two of

east Asia in the wake of out-

Mahathir Mohamad. The

a menace to his country.

in Brief

Risking His Neck in the New Russia

Anthony Olcott SIBERIAN LIGHT By Robin White

Delacorte, 441pp, \$23.95.

OME of the best new mysterles are the detektive being banged out by Russians, who are scribbling furiously to turn quick baksy on their countrymen's insatiable appetite for pulp fiction. Flailing about in the moral fog of present-day Russia, the new Russian mysteries are raw, intense and — so far at least —

completely untranslated. Which is why Robin White's Siberian Light is heartly recommended to any mystery fan curious about the Russian detektivs but disinclined to invest the time necessary to master Russian. Set in the oilfields of far Siberia, White's novel manages to encompass all the paradoxes of Russian life today, making his book uncannily similar to the

Gregori Nowek, a petrologist

fired for trying to prevent a pipeline spill, has gotten himself elected mayor, largely on the strength of his campaign slogan, "Be Honest, Can I Do Any Worse?" Nowek's village is sunk in poverty and decay, its only source of income the AmerRus oil exploration joint venture, which, alarmingly, isn't pumping much oil.

Some people, though, are getting rich: Kaznin, once the regional KGB head, now in "private security"; Yufa, head of the local matiya; and Ryzkhov, a "fixer." Except that persons unknown have now slit Ryzkhov's throat, also killing two of Nowek's cops who stepped in at the wrong moment. His town has no funds to pay their salaries, so Nowek feels he should at least see where the cops died. When becomes clear that someone wants desperately to hush these murders up, Nowek decides to find out for himself what really

the lugs of the killer's boot point the ex-geologist mayor in the direction of the Americans, Nowek knows that the price of truth could well be his own neck. In the best traditions of both the American hard-boiled detective story and the new Russian detek tiv, Nowek gets stabbed, beaten and nearly drowned but still plods ahead because, as he later confesses to his new love, Anna, "Honesty has always been one of

my main flaws." Nowek's determination not to be lied to, not to be pushed aside, and not to let loved ones he trampled into the mud by others rushing for the trough would be almost a cliche if this novel were set in America. White has done such a convincing job of setting this simple heroism in Russia, however, that Siberian Light gives an excellent approximation of what it is like to watch the crime writers of Russia today struggling to build a new morality amid the wreckage of their

happened. When some stray pebbles from

Walking Wounded

Gerald Nicosia

SHOPPING CART SOLDIERS By John Mulligan Curbstone, 239pp. \$22,95.

FI HAD to pick three novels that best embody the American experience of the Vietnam War, they would be Tim O'Brien's Going After Cacciato, Larry Heinemann's Paco's Story, and John Mulligan's just-published Shopping Cart Soldiers. A thread of sublime absurdity runs through all three - a kind of W.C. Fields meets "The Twilight Zone" free-for-all of adolescent emotion, supernatural possibility, and slapstick, flat-on-your-rear failure. It is, perhaps, the only workable approach to a war that began with John F. Kennedy's shining optimism and ended with a bunch of once venerable, now nearly forgotten voices croaking that they shouldn't have gotten involved in the first place.

Of the three novels, Shopping Cart Warriors is the hardest to read not because of Mulligan's style, which in some ways is even more elegant, and not because of its flaws, which are considerable. The difficulty is that the magic of his tale, at times completely captivating, is at other times lost in writing thickly

crowded with the author's own pain. This is not, in the traditional sense, a book about the Vietnam War. This book is the Vietnam War or, more specifically, a sciamographic record of that war raging its way through one man's consciousness. Shopping Cart Soldiers is a novel of questions - many explicit, some implicit - but the preeminent one is this: What causes such profound and permanent changes in a human being when he goes to

Mulligan has an intimate, firsthand knowledge of his subject. Born in 1950 in Kirkintilloch, Scotland, he emigrated with his family to the United States when he was just shy of his 18th birthday. Within a few months of his arrival, he enlisted in the Air Force and was promptly shipped to Vietnam. His overseas experience was a crazy mix of stoned parties, helicopter joy rides and terrifying rocket and mortar assaults, where he saw men, including his best friend, blown to bits. Remaining in the service for six years, he married and had a daughter, then quit and went to work as a machinist and construction worker.

That his soul turns out to be Asian woman named Madmai just the beginning of the hunder By 1975, as he puts it, his "PTSD of paradoxes and contradich upon which Mulligan's 5007 built. There are sometimes some lings, turned for help to the Veterans different spirits, divinites to nous present — including c ghost of another Scot who soul: Robert Louis Stevenson that one could use a scorer keep track of them, as if Multihas written a kind of Russian of

Some of the most post scenes in the novel are de differentiations frontations and dialogues been the living Finn and the solden have already died, including the called suicide, veterans ha thousands of combat treps have taken their own lives and war ended. What they force h realize, finally, is that every remember the dead but the endure, to stay alive, both to truth and to set a hopeful

nam vet who has been booings; wandering the streets for a doc years, Finn has a severe acces scizure in a North Beach Feb. bangs his head on the concert, c'. lands in San Francisco Good arques Larry Elliot Hospital. During the three dails remains in a coma there, he east ences an extraordinary seis d visions, which provide the hallsis

all except one, an older g.

called "Ivy League," who had been

hero to all of them. Ivy League 🗠

been fied to a tree. His face is at:

lated. There is a bullet hole in!

The men start to examine t

rest of the bodies, not realizing the

have been booby-trapped. A cost of mines explode, killing one a:

immediately, and the others s.

denly find themselves in the mis

of a Viet Cong ambush. In 2 to hours, Finn MacDonald is utb

changed: He "becomes a cold:

sensitive killer that night; life me

nothing henceforward and the a:

zation that death really is his k-

ness becomes clearer than r

textbook, story, or drill instrut-might ever hope to tell . . . Nonc.

lance and apathy become an it

gral part of him that night, more

perhaps than even the blood a

E MOVE quickly from a nlism to myth and a

we learn, Finn has become t

"Fimply," living somewhere between

the "Land of the Truly Allee"

the "Place of Truly Dead Son The explanation given is that

soul has been forced out of

body, and it is his orphaned is

that narrates most of the north

gory. On a spiritual plix

ning through his veins."

forehead.

tory framework of the nord Itway Mulligan stretches that farwork into something very lke modern morality play — and the way he makes Finn's nightness and horrors our own - are mo stres of his exceedingly disastic Finn, just 20 years old, is how; routine tour of duty in Vite:

when one day he and four lines make an unauthorized flight in business to boost productivity and helicopter gunship. They are 60's mission of mercy" to look for so One day the women spot Gerald swimming. Ursula says: "He'll have companions who crashed in acc. plane, At the crash site, they for to die soon, when he's made every the crew and all 26 passengers, possible improvement and there will be nothing more to improve. diers who had been on their ve home, lying burned in the week?

He's got go, anyhow. "Certainly, he's got go," says Gudrun. "In fact, I've never seen a man that showed signs of so much. The unfortunate thing is, where does his go go to, what becomes of it?"

Ultimately, Gerald, the symbol o the machine age, dies in the cold emptiness of the high Alps. The metaphor is not that subtle, nor did lawrence mean it to be. Eighty years on, however, it is still relevant. Observing the start of the annual meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Hong Kong last weekend, Lawrence would no doubt have said of globalisation: "Where does all the go go to, One obvious riposte is that indus-

trialisation and globalisation have not only survived but expanded their reach because they have delivered the goods. We in the West are all more prosperous than when lawrence was alive. And would we really want to go back to the stan-dards of nutrition, medical care, dentistry that our grandparents had to endure? The answer, almost certainly, is no. We like our TVs, cars, video players, CDs and foreign holidays, and would be reluctant to give them up. Any critique of modern industrialism has to acknowledge that Western capitalism, based on technological advance and a relent-

less dynamism, has something going for it. More going for it than a Soviet-style planned economy.

This is what the IMF, the World Rank and the Common terms of the co Bank and the Group of Seven have been saying over recent days. Everywhere, the Western variant of capitalism, in which money chases And yet, as Charles Handy says in ghost of another Such the land his latest book, The Hungry Spirit: There is an uneasy feeling in the Western world that all is not what we say it is. We have become the prisoners of the money myth."

Money, Handy adds, is a necessary but not sufficient condition of happiness. It matters if you haven't got any but once you have sufficient il is rather like central heating; hav-

tional Monetary Fund are facing a storm of protest from church groups and charities over the ing more makes no difference. He cites various measures to show that the raison ditre for globalialion — that it can deliver the goods - is flawed. Forty-two per cent of American workers feel used realize, finally, is that the property of the care workers feel used yet has a responsibility of the end of the day, 69 per cent "not just about the complexities of debt relief but saving lives". It mould like a more relaxed the with children than 30 years ago and, file per capita consumption in the for every year debt assistance

United States has risen by 45 per | The free-market response assumes cent in the past 20 years, the quality that everything can be resolved by the price mechanism. Once it be-Handy concludes that the limits comes profitable to curb pollution, to growth could be psychological pollution will be curbed. Unfortuand philosophical rather than ecnnately, nobody knows when these nomic and environmental. In truth, signals will be given, nor whether all four factors may be relevant. The there will be anybody left alive at

plain fact is that globalisation offers that point to pick them up. a false prospectus. The World The reality is, as the American Bank's report on China last week William Greider writes in his new extolled the economic transformabook, One World, Ready Or Not. globalisation is a machine with skiltion that country has witnessed ful hands on board but nobody at since free-market reforms began in the late 1970s. China has the potenthe wheel. "In fact, this machine has tial to become the second-richest no wheel nor any internal governor to control the speed and direction. It Yet here is a fact worth bearing in is sustained by its own forward motion, guided mainly by Its own apmind. There are only about two million cars in the country, one for petites. And it is accelerating,"

every 700 people. The US has 1.7 people per car. What will that mean OLITICIANS are aware of this. Many find it disturbing. for car consumption, for pollution, for the depletion of lossil fuels? But the general feeling is one Why should China, however, of resignation; nothing can be done to stop this leviathan, and even if it deny its people creature comforts when the US continues to guzzle could the voters would not wear it. gas and refuses to set meaningful This is a counsel of despair. Globalisation does not take place in a vactargets for reducing emissions of uum. It takes place within nation Gandhi had some wise words to states, and if nation states chose to say on this subject. The Earth, he | do so they could take action to con-

said "provides enough for every | trol it. There is no reason why curbs man's need, but not for every man's | should not be placed on internagreed". The problem is that the entire basis for globalisation is greed. do so.

I AMES WOLFENSOHN.

rejected criticism last week

that debt relief for the poorest

nations was going too slowly,

The Bank and the Interna-

time taken to approve debt relief

and the obstacles put in the way

Oxfam said that the plan was

said that 190,000 children die

of the process.

writes Alex Brummer in Hong

J president of the World Bank,

of life has fallen by 51 per cent.

country in the world by 2020.

carbon gases?

Debt relief plan scorned to Mozambique is postponed. Mr Wolfensohn appeared less than pleased with the initiative

led by the UK Chancellor. Gordon Brown, to ensure that up to three-quarters of the debtors are in relief programs by 2000. "If Gordon Brown would like to make a very large contribution I would be happy to

accept it," he said. Among the reasons for delays in clearing countries through the debt plan is the IMF's failure to secure its share of the initiative - estimated to cost up to \$8.4 billion. Plans to sell IMF gold to meet the costs have been blocked by Germany and Italy.

out of business. UROPEAN UNION coun-tries most successful at cu tries most successful at cutting unemployment are those. like Britain, which have moved fastest towards part-time working, according to an EU survey. Overall one European worker in six is a part-timer, but this rises

NTERNATIONAL gangs sold \$5 billion-worth of pirate Clbs and cassettes last year, depriving the legitimate industry and threatening the lives of those trying to stamp out the crime, the international Federation of the Phonographic Industry said.

J APAN'S second and fourth largest stockbrokers, Daiwa Securities and Yaimachi, were raided by financial investigators in a clampdown on corporate protection racketeers. Top executives of Nikko Securities, Japan's third largest brokerage, are set to resign as the country's payoff scandal mushrooms.

OVERNMENT estimates of the number of Britons missold personal pensions in the \$6 billion scandal have been revised upwards to 2 million.

OAL will play almost no part in meeting Britain's energy needs by 2010, a government advisory committee predicted, casting doubt on the future of he remaining 23 deep mines.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

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EQU 1

A green light that signals stop, not go Globalisation has all the appeal of an express train with no driver in the cab, N MANY ways, D H Lawrence was the prototype green. The constant theme of his novels was the way in which the hard, mechanistic world of the industrial West was sucking the life out of mankind. This scene from Women In Love s typical. Ursula and Gudrun are two sisters who become attracted to two men, Birkin and Gerald, Birkin is a thinly disguised Lawrence, while Gerald is an industrial magsate set on introducing new metheds of working to the family

breath from the IMF and World Bank last week when the Malaysian prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad, called for foreign exchange speculation to be outlawed, but a further systemic crisis could prompt calls for action just as the Great Depression triggered curbs on capital in the 1930s.

Robert Rubin, the US Treasury Secretary, said last Sunday that the turbulence in Southeast Asia should not reverse the trend towards financial globalisation, which is just the sort of thing you would expect from a former Wall Street financier. But, while unfettered global capital has undoubtedly enriched a global élite, it has done so at the expense of wild and unnecessary currency fluctuations that have reduced growth rates, pushed up unemployment and been a fundamental cause of growing inequality.

Politically, voters seem to be ready to embrace a different agenda. A British opinion poll last year found that, while the environment did not have the same salience with UK voters as unemployment, 10 million potential voters put it among their top two or three issues. Moreover, three out of four people across the country and eight in 10 of (then) Opposition MPs agreed with the statement: British companies do not pay enough attention to their treatment of the environment."

This is heartening stuff for those who would like to see the formation of a global red-green alliance dedicated to a new international framework for controlling capital, a tax system that ensures that the full environmental cost of transporting goods and people across the world. is reflected in prices, and a more: equitable distribution of the world's riches. It is telling that the most radical policies since the British election have come from John Prescott's environment and trans-

port super-ministry.

It would be foolish to over-stress all this. Attitudes change slowly, but voters are starting to ask the questions that Lawrence, Schumacher and Gandhi have been asking for the whole of this century.

Dangerous Liaisons

Howard Frank Mosher HERE ON EARTH By Alice Hoffman Putnam. 293 pp. \$23.95.

MARCH MURRAY is an intellidecent woman. More, she's a caring wife and mother, with a successful career as a silversmith and a comfortable home in California, "where the light is so lemon-colored and clear it is almost possible to forget there are other places in the world." So why under the sun, when she returns to her New England hometown for the funeral of the Murray family housekeeper, would March jeopardize everything in her life for a man whose only recommendations are a brutally controlling sensuality and a psychopathic determination to dominate his world and everyone in it?

This is the central dramatic question of Alice Hoffman's dark and wonderful new novel. Here On Earth. At the heart of March's teenage daughter, Gwen, and all but from hatred, hope from despair, pardilemma is what to do when some I imprisoning March in his remote I ticularly for the young.

one you loved long ago disappears. "Where do you go — into pleces, into atoms, into the arms of another man? You go shopping, you cook din-ner, you work odd hours, you make love to someone else on June nights, But you're not really there, you're sky and a road you don't recognize. If you squint your eyes, you think you see him, in the shadows, beyond you see him, but he's never there."

the trees. You always imagine that The unfinished business, in this case, is Hollis, a Heathcliffian outcast whom March's well-meaning father took into the family off the streets of Boston as a boy. Trouble is, Hollis has grown up into a man "with no education and no training and no heart | ure a single reason for his exisat all." For Hollis, against all her bet- tence." She sees how Hollis, who ter judgment, March seems willing to carries with himself wherever he give up her loving husband of nearly 20 years, her self-respect, even her physical safety. And it soon becomes apparent that he will stop at absolutely nothing to possess her, body and soul, including threatening her

have killed his wife.

still perceives Hollis not as the ruthless manipulator he's become, but as the orphan boy she once loved, "who kissed her in the attic and promised to love her forever." She sees March's hermit brother Alan, known simply as "the Coward," incapaci-Alan's neglected teenaged son, Hank, a bright and promising young man who has "never been able to figis in fact driven to his villainous acman is no fatalist or doomsday crier. Far from it. She knows that here on earth, love can sometimes emerge

deeper inside her characters than in Here On Earth. With clear-eyed symtated by gin and sorrow. She sees goes the "scorching scent" of anger, tions by sheer loneliness. Yet Hoff-

country estate. "Mr. Death," Hollis was called in Florida, where he amassed a fortune by killing losing racehorses with his bare hands for the insurance. The rumor around town is that he may very well also

Alice Hoffman has never seen productive life.

[post-traumatic stress disorder] had begun to kick in." He drank heavily and used drugs to numb his feelas "an alcoholic and a drug addict" (since post-traumatic stress disorder was not yet a recognized diagnosis), and eventually walked out on his family. During most of the 1980s, Mulligan lived on the streets in San Francisco with hundreds of fellow homeless veterans, pushing a shopping cart as he continued down toward self-destruction. It was only through the intervention of a Vet Center counselor in 1989, and then through his participation in a Vietnam veterans' writing and meditation group led by author Maxine Hong Kingston in 1991, that Mulligan was able to return to a stable,

The main character of Shopping Cart Soldiers, Flun MacDonald, is clearly Mulligan's alter ego. A heavily traumatized, Glasgow-born Viet- for his brothers and alsters

mines requires at least three things: a diplomatic campaign to persuade governments to ban their manufacture, a parallel effort to convince soldiers they can do without them, and a more reliable way of finding the tens of millions that already litter battlefields.

The campaign, which Diana, Princess of Wales, publicised so effectively, is making headway despite resistance from the US military. But the technology used to detect mines has barely moved on since the second world war, although the problem is at last receiving proper attention, military and civilian.

The British army first woke up to the seriousness of the problem particularly the appalling difficulty of detecting plastic "minimum metal" mines - after the Falklands campaign of 1982. The search for an effective new detection system to replace the familiar metal detector and hand-held probe came up with ground-probing radar (GPR). But the cost — financial and human proved too much for both the Ministry of Defence and the Foreign Office, so the minefields were simply fenced off and abandoned.

In any case, the research boffins are unanimous that no one sensor will ever meet the requirement. The most difficult problem is finding the small plastic anti-personnel mine,

IDDING the world of land- | tiny firing pin, and maybe a small spring. A conventional metal detector can be tuned up to detect this, but it also senses every other scrap of metal in the surrounding earth. which on a battlefield especially, means endless false alarms.

The solution now being pursued by several Nato nations, including Britain, Canada, France, Germany and the US, is a combination of sensors; metal detectors, various types of radar, infra-red thermal imaging, and a technique that British scientists at the Defence Evaluation and Research Agency (Dera) are working on nuclear quadrupole resonance. NOR uses a radio pulse to excite the nitrogen atoms in explosives and record the response, something the Dera team can now achieve with TNT as well as the plastic explosive RDX.

Dem's team at Chertsey, Surrey, and Pershore in Worcestershire, is being funded by the UK government to develop both a vehicle-mounted system and a new hand-held device. The hand-held equipment combining metal detector, ground probing radar and NQR may be ready in three or four years' time. And the vehicle-mounted system known as Minder, which combines up to five sensors, is unlikely to appear in operational form before 2004 or 2005.

Minder looks shead with ultrawideband (UWB) radar and a thermal imager, to pick up an early three or four inches in diameter, | indication, then downward with an whose only metal component is a larray of metal detectors, GPR and



NOR, to check for metal content. shape and explosives respectively. The early trials version performs well enough against mines laid out neatly on an airfield runway, but finding mines buried for years under thick vegetation will be more Dera is also improving the ar-

moured plough that the army uses, nlong with powerful flails, to clear and detonate mines. These are all military programmes, but as Dera's countermine project director. Colin Lowe, readily acknowledges, "we'd

Although Western armies still have little appetite for direct involvement in humanitarian mine clearance programmes (Nato troops in Bosnia, for example, have no plan to stay on clearing the millions of mines buried in the forests there), they ncreasingly accept responsibility for helping those who do, Military expertise is being shared with nongovernmental organisations such as the Halo Trust, the Mines Advisory

Group, Oxfam and the Red Cross, Nato has set up a dual-use study group to ensure the benefits are be crucified by politicians and the also available to civilian groups "But what they call postconfat public if we just sat on the military engaged in humanitarian mine thefield area clearance is almost clearance. And Lowe says there is a same as the humanitarian probe

engineering firms adapting and. tural machinery to dig out, it: crunch up buried mines. Alistair Craib, a former at

bomb disposal expert who nat-Falklands clearance programmer. it was aborted, and who is now: sultant to the European Commiamong others, says the don: problem is virtually identical for: tary and humanitarian users T military may want the equips painted a nice green colour, ad; ducing a quieter signal," he x

QUARDIAN WEEKLY eptember 28 1997

NGO, ACADEMIC POSTS & COURSES 21

ACTIONAID's work in Africa, Asia and Latin America helps poor communities in both rural

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY

George Monbiot warns us to beware of chemical niant Monsanto's plans to re-engineer our food

Watch those beans

you're not looking out for them. The three pages in Britain's Financial Times devoted to the corporate de-merger of a chemical company called Monsanto were not exactly riveting, but could not be ignored. I is one of the few public indications of a new chapter in the world's economic history.

The publicity, simed at shareholders and corporate customers, nnounced that Monsanto is to split into two firms, to pursue "applied chemistry" and "life sciences". The life-science division will "provide better food, better nutrition, and better health for all people". With this, Monsanto has embarked on one of the most extraordinary and ambitious corporate strategies ever

The story begins simply enough, with a single chemical. Glyphosate, sold as "Roundup", is the world's biggest-selling herbicide. Last year, it carned Monsanto nearly \$1.5 billion, but its patent on Roundup runs out in 2000. Far from sowing corporate catastrophe, however, this event seems likely only to enhance Mousanto's market value. For the past 10 years it has cleverly been developing a range of new crops, genetically engineered to resist lyphosate. Spraying them with destroys all the weeds that compete.

T'S EASY to miss even the biggest newspaper ads when santo to secure exclusive rights to santo to secure exclusive rights to their production. The first "Roundup-Ready" plant that Monsanto released was a genetically engineered soya bean. Between 50 and 60 per cent of processed foods contain soya, so the potential market is enormous,

Alarmed at possible increases in the use of herbicides, as well as the health effects of genetically engineered crops in general, environmentalists and consumer groups in Europe started calling for products containing the new beans to be clearly labelled. But in the US from where most of Britain's soya comes - Monsonto insisted that it would be impossible to kerp Roundup-Ready beans apart from ordinary ones. About 15 per cent of this year's US crop is Roundup Ready: the chances are that nearly all of us will soon be consuming manipulated soya beans every week.

As the new beans were snapped up by growers in the US, Monsanto began an extraordinary round of acquisitions, buying shares in seed and biotechnology companies worth nearly \$2 billion in the past 18 months alone. Among its purchases are companies that produce the famous "Flavr-savr" toniato, own the US patent on all genetic manipulations of cotton, and control around toundup does them no harm, but 35 per cent of the germlines of American maize. Monsanto is now New patent legislation in Europe | experimenting with new rice, maize,

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potato, sugarbeet, rape and cotton varieties. It has suggested that within a few years all the major staple crops on Earth should be genetically engineered. The new products are so attractive to many farmers that the company has managed to get them to sign away their future rights to the seed they grow, and allow Monsanto to inspect their fields whenever it wants.

Monsanto's new crops could not have become commercially viable

without major legislative change. As members of the trade lobby Europabio, Monsanto and the other big biotech companies have mostered the legal climate in which they open ate. Despite significant public oppo-

sition, Europabio in July managed to persuade the European Parliament to adopt a new directive. allowing companies to patent manipulated plants and animals. Last week, the European Commission of our most fundamental commodity announced that it would force Aus-

FEATURES 23

tria, Italy and Luxembourg to repeal their laws banning the import of genetically engineered maize.
In the US a Monsanto vice-presi-

dent is reportedly a "top candidate" to become commissioner of the food and drug administration, which regulates the food industry. Researchers and lawyers from Monsanto already occupy important posts in the FDA. It has approved some of the company's most controversial products, including the artificial sweetener aspartame and an injectable growth hormone for cattle. Only the New York attorney general's office has taken the company to task, forcing it to withdraw adverts claiming that Roundup Is biodegradable and environmentally

But Monsanto has been most successful when appealing to multi-lateral bodies. Last month, the WTO confirmed its ruling that the European Union can no longer exclude meat and milk from cattle treated with bovine growth hormone, despite the protests of farmers, retailers and consumers.

As Scientific American magazine laimed, Monsanto's trials were incompletely analysed, obscuring the fact that it increases infected udder cells in cows by about 20 per cent. Biotech firms are now trying to persuade the WTO to forbid the labelling of genetically engineered foods. Any country whose retailers tell consumers what they are eating would be subject to punitive same

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Working towards equal opportunities.

E HANG in suspended animation of a heatwave that is so hot and airless the top of the hill. We have an annual fire drill. We know to tell our that newly washed clothes are bone dry in 10 minutes. You can't go out of the house, which is an oven after two days of more than 40C, because the direct sunlight is a killer. In southern Australia, we are at the epicentre of the ozone hole, and on cloudless days it will fry your skin and brains. You have been warned.

The leaf litter in the bush is potato-chip crisp, the grass is bleached and dead. The eucalyptus have turned their leaves edge-on to the sun, reducing any hope of shade. The garden familiars — the wallaby and her Joey, the echidna and the baby wombat — are missing, and there is not a bird in the landscape. Not a call, not a song.

We sit indoors bereft of all attempts at conversation because nothing surmounts the singularlyshared sentiment, "Gawd, it's hot".

We watch the tennis on the television to be mesmerised and to concentrate on someone who is even hotter than we are. Some of the players have threatened to walk off or postpone matches because on centre court the thermometer is measuring 50°C. They are wiping hands, faces, arms and rackets, and sitting between matches with ice packs on their necks. We feel they

earn their money today.

Every so often the thwock of the match is interrupted by a Bushfire Update. About 10km from our forested enclave, fires are raging out of control. There are 22 fires throughout the state. Everywhere people are fighting for their property and, in some cases, for their lives.

With each report we go through the mental itinerary that checks off our fire readiness. The firehose is unfurled, the pump primed. The gutters have been cleaned. The paint tina, or anything vaguely com-bustible, have been hauled away from the house. We have heavy boots, jumpers, scarves and rakes at the ready should we find ourselves in the fight. The local radio station has turned itself into a bushfire

Fire is part of the deal of living in the bush. Our little community of whether I nee about 60 households is given cohectentral heating.

neighbours if we intend to flee or sit

We know that if a fire roars up the gully from the river, or over the crest of the hill behind the house, it will be a furious furnace of terror for a few minutes, after which the fire balls of a "crown" fire will have flown, leaving us to put out the spot fires or to douse anything that is

The instructions are to pull everything away from the windows, to fill the bath with cold water and to lie on the floor under a wet rug or towel until the main fire passes. Then, with any remaining nerve, attack in the sanest possible manner.

The idea is to fight the fire backwards, not forwards, because the fire wind is the real danger. The wind roars with sparks and embers. It will blow you down or burn out

TEN kilometres is a lot of lee way in bushfire territory, but not enough to be complacent about. The wind is blowing away from us, but we can't relax because so many fires these days are started by idiots. This fire, which eventually claimed three lives and 44 houses, was started by two kids. Kids had been lighting fires at the end of the street only a week before. The police presence in the district is

Suddenly our valley is filled with smoke — smoke from far away. As the smoke haze grows, the tempera-

By dark, it hasn't rained but the tennia players are happier and the news updates are promising that the fire "is being brought under con-trol". By midnight, the fire truck and the boys have returned to base and a fresh crew is on standby at the station, just in case.

By morning, the ground is wet. The smoke has cleared. And by afternoon, just 24 hours later, the promised thunderstorms have elted the place and it's hard to beieve that I'm in the same country was in the day before, I wonder

A Country Diary

Richard Mabey

CAUSSE NOIR, Larzac: The late summer heat seemed to have killed every living thing into a stupor, and when the winds came they were galvanic. Over meadows carpeted with thousands of tremulous lilac colchicums a swirling crowd of choughs had gathered. We counted between 50 or 60, tumbling and yelping like a flock of giant black butterflies. None of us had seen so many chough together before, so obviously enjoying the wind in their wings. Later, we lunched at the local buvette and watched the last crag martins sporting over the ancient limestone farm buildings. They too seemed to be relishing the air's movement, and nothing except sheer effervescent play could explain what they were doing: queuing up by roofridge, breasting the breeze, and then flying gently backwards on it.

That evening we were taken to

olonising the Dourbie river. It was fine, quiet twilight, but from our viewpoint, high on one of the banks, we could see that the birds were still energised by the wind. Spotted flycatchers dashed out from the dense bankside vegetation. Dippers and kingfishers whirred close to the water's surface. Then we spotted a beaver, dog-paddling downstream towards us, its flat rudder of a tail clearly visible below the water. Also visible at the bottom were the dozens of small trees the colony had felled for winter food. They lay there like spillikins.

European beavers don't do much in the way of dam-building, but they do fell trees and store them, for freshness, in the cool water at the bottom of rivers, then feed on the bark when other food is scarce.

Above, the beavers experimented at being logs and alligators, then crawled onto the bank and, like everything else that balmy day, watch the beavers that are regave in to gambolling.



Supply side . . . A gas-fired plant being built to meet India's increasing power needs

South lines up for an energy boost

VORLD energy demand will double and electricity consumption triple by 2020, according to a report published last week by PowerGen, Britain's

The bulk of the increase will come from Asia-Pacific countries, as an increasing proportion of fast-growing populations move from rural areas into the towns and cities.

But demand will also grow in the established industrial nations of Europe and North America as a result of changing ifestyles — including more but maller households occupied by singles, separated or elderly

The report forecasts that governments will accelerate privatisation of energy businesses to cope with the \$3 trillion investment needed to expand produc-tion to meet demand.

congress being held in Hong Kong. It says that the United States will still be the largest energy user by 2020, but kull be followed by China, South Korea, Japan and India. The next countries would be Thailand, Indonesia, France Canada and Russia. Britsin, which now ranks as No 8, wil not make the top 10.

The PowerGen report is that

to coincide with the sixth annu

world energy develop

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

STHE United Kingdom the only country to have a shipping forecast on a major public service radio network?

TUNE in to France Inter shortly before 7pm (British time), and you'll hear the Météo Marine covering Viking to Sardinia. — Moira Marshall, Huddersfield, Yorks

THE Voice of Brazil broadcasts the Aviso Aos Navegantes (Warning to Sailors) daily. — Lenio Marobis, London

IN New Zealand, Radio New Zealand broadcasts a shipping forecast daily on its National Radio service. There's also a forecast for mountain areas. - Peter Stedmers.

A USTRALIA may be unique in having a space weather forecast on a major radio station. - Ioss Hawthorn, Sydney, Australia

WHY do multiplication tables end at 12?

MENTAL arithmetic usually applies to monetary calculations.
The United States has always had decimal coinage, and at my primary school multiplication tables ended at nine. Under the old British system, a shilling contained 12 pennies, hence the extended table memorisation demanded of British school-children. — Joy Lloyd, Misterton, Doncaster

HEY don't; they end at 10 (except in a few oddball countries). Raymond Wilson's sugges-tion (September 7) that decimalisation is related to our anatomy is problematic: 12 is as intrinsic to the structure of the human body as 10 It is, for example, the number of finger joints on one hand. Running the tip of the thumb up the joints of the four fingers in turn, starting from the base of the little finger, is an effective way of "counting on the fingers" in base 12 — and was so used by British shop-staff before

decimalisation. — *Justin Harris*, N answering this question, Raymond Wilson explained that it reflects the historical predominance of the duodecimal system. This begs a further question: why (as he stated) was divisibility by 3 and 4 fundamental in early societies? - Ruth Dibbs, Ottowa,

WHICH country has the easiest driving test?

Canada

A FTER making a complete hash of my driving test in Honolulu some years ago, the examiner said that I showed exceptional control behind the wheel. However, he added that I would make a better driver if I learned to relax more, with one hand on the wheel and my other arm resting on the window ledge. — Joss Hawthorn, Sydney, Australia

WHY are Anglo-Saxons, unlike other nations, exceedingly tight-lipped about the amount of money that the

DECAUSE the 5 per cent with per cent that it is bad form in the cuns it. - Dino Bressan, Mellom

Any answers!

WHAT happens to you shall you "see stars"? - It'll

M I more closely related by - Margaret Davies, Lockwell.

HEN does a gem cross line between semi-proise and precious? — Andres has Guelph, Ontario, Canada

Y UNCLE believes that embedding a piece of opportunity of a tree, so will kill the tree. Is he distinct. - Sean Lilliott, Merseyside

Answers should be e-mailed weekly@guardian.co.uk, habit 0171/+44171-242-0985 on 10171/+44171-242-0985 on 10171/-44171-242-0985 to The Guardian Weekly 75fe don Road, London ECIM 1990 The Notes & Queries website http://nq.guardian.co.uk/

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Women 4, Men 0

John Mullin on mixed reactions to the all-female line-up for Ireland's vacant presidency

ELL MCCAFFERTY, the founder of the Irish Women's Liberation Movement, is babbling, incoherent. Laughter is destroying her, "I could never have dreamed this. It's wonderful, wonderful."

McCafferty has just heard the news on RTE, Ireland's state-owned radio station. Mary McAleese, professor of law at Queen's University in Belfast, has humiliated Albert Reynolds, grand old man of Irish politica. She is to be the Flanna Fail candidate to succeed Mary Robinson as president.

And that makes four; all women When Ireland's 2.6 million voters go to the polls on October 30, every candidate will be female. And together, they send a message to the world about modern Ireland: no longer are women second-class citizens, victims of an unacemly allance between the Catholic Church and the patronising chauvinism of its male politicians.

Reynolds, as prime minister, had once dismissed an interruption in the Dail from Nora Owen, former Minister of Justice, by saying: That's women for you." Never could he have expected such smug-So just what is going on in this

presidential race? McCafferty says: "Most people outside Ireland would associate the all-women choice with Mary Robinson's success. She has undoubtedly played a key role in the increasing confidence of women. bringing a dignity to politics while all around the men are embroiled in sleaze. But Ireland is a highly feminised society now. It is not just a process that began with her victory in 1990. It began before that, back when we formed the women's

Each of the candidates, McCafferty believes, brings something of their own to the race for the presidency, formerly the preserve of time serving male politicians within Fianna Fail. Even the derided Eurovision song contest winner Dana aka Rosemary Scallon.

Dana, aged 44, astonished pun-dits by taking on the system to secure her nomination. Any candidate requires the backing of 20 TDs (the equivalent of MPs), effectively making nominations the preserve of political parties. But Dana spotted that the constitution provided another route. In an unprecedented move, she persuaded four county councils to put her forward. She did it, according to councillors in Donegal Kerry, Wicklow and Longford, with a mixture of charm and determination; no one should underestimate her, says one



she is now pro vice-chancellor, is another formidable operator. Reynolds was a sure-fire winner. yet, through assiduous telephon canvassing, McAleese brought off

victory no one thought possible, Adi Roche, aged 42, who has shown considerable diplomatic skills in her impressive charity work, is the standard bearer of the left. Dick Spring's Labour party is her main sponsor — and it was Spring who persuaded Mary Robinson, an apparently hopeless cause to stand seven years ago.

And then there is Mary Banott aged 58, the candidate of Fine Gael the main opposition party. Grand-niece of Michael Collins, founding father of the IRA, she is a Mary McAleese, aged 46, who long-standing MEP, nominated as beat David Trimble, leader of the European of the Year five times in Ulster Unionists, to promotion at | the past six years. She'd be the first Queen's University, Belfast, where I divorced head of state - a mark,

the Robinson years.

Amid the hullabaloo, however.

there are those who are worried. Men, predictably. They can scarcely believe there is to be an election for Ireland's first citizen without one of them standing. They besiege radio shows to declare it unfair. Why that should be so when no such concern applied to women facing exclusively male candidates is a question that has defeated all callers.

And yet the men are not alone. Perhaps it is the conditioning of church and state over the years, but now the old certainties are dead, some women feel fear at the prospect of an election to be fought among themselves. One toki Marian Finucane's Liveline show that she was convinced the turnout would be the lowest ever because **FEATURES** 25

There is concern, too, among Dublin's newspaper colum-nists. Take Miriam Lord of the Irish Independent. Her thesis is that each of these women with the exception of Dana, is what their backers - ie, men believe the voters will buy in the ost-Robinson era. Each uses her as their role model; each is determined to outcare the others, rather as Miss World contenders used to do. "Circle the wagons! The four

Marys are on the warpath! Their mission is to care, care, care, care, care. Whether we like it or not. It's huggy-wuggy all the way now until October 30. Care is their core."

Ms Lord's colleague, Mary Ellen Synon, is even more scathing, no-tably of Mary McAlcese, whom she accuses of hiding her brain under "a cloud of mock-Robinson fluff".

There are concerns about the candidates' politics and what they might mean for women — Dann's opposition to abortion, for example But beyond this lies the question of what each actually wants to do it the job - and exactly what the president does. According to the consti tution, there are two powers; to refer legislation to the Supreme Court and dissolve the Dail when asked. None of the women appears too bothered with either

As the debate rumbles on, the last words should perhaps go to Miriam Lord, They are words that strike a chord with many Irish people. "Oh, Holy God. How will we get brough the next few weeks? Let's hear it for a Drinkin', Smokin' and Fornicatin' candidate. For the sake of variety, if nothing else. Give the

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY

With its portrait of Myra Hindley, tanks of dissected

Royal Academy's new show, Sensation, appears

to be living up to its name. Adrian Searle reports

UST AS the generation of becomes clear is that much of the artists who have changed the work in Sensation is not as new as it

animals and tableaux of mutant children, the

Feeling frenzy

past 10 years are accorded a major

exhibition at the Royal Academy in

Sensation, a show of work by 42 young British artists from Charles

Saatchi's collection, has already led

o the resignation of several Royal

Academicians over the inclusion of

Marcus Harvey's painting Myra,

pased on the well-known sixties po-

lice mug-shot of Myra Hindley. And

within two days of the opening, the

portrait of Hindley, who was jailed

murders, was attacked with ink and

instigated when it was noticed that

Chris Ofili's painting of a black

Virgin Mary includes a number of

Ofili's paintings, Jake and Dinos

targets for vilification - for their

content, their "ugliness" and their

and out of the pop, poop and pap

one to see quite how serious and

There are those who see Sensa-

ion as some kind of generational

vatershed — the moment that the

nti-establishment became the es-

ablishment. The fact that so many

of the artists are genuinely appreci-

ted beyond the art-world ghetto

says something about shifts in our

ulture and our cultural expecta-

tions and values. But one thing that

strong the best of the artists are.

eggs by two men. A further, feeble scandal

ornographic magazines.

ack of moral rectitude.

London, the backlash has begun.

It started. Now it's finished

TELEVISION Desmond Christy

SIT YOURSELF down in an arm-chair, turn down the lights so that only one bulb is shining in your face and ask yourself these two

1). What was the first question asked in Mastermind (BBC1) when it started 25 years ago? 2) What was the last question some 64,000 questions later?

The answer to number one, according to the Guardian's ace librarians, is: "Picasso's Guernica was a protest about the bombing by Spanish planes of a village. In what year did the event take place that inspired the painting?" The answer to number two is this: "Sixty years ago, during the Spanish civil war, which answer everything they can.

town in the Basque country was destroyed by German bombers, an event which was commemorated in a painting by Picasso?"

We notice, if my cuttings are right, that the first question contained an error (they weren't Spanish planes) and find it corrected 25 years later. But what matters more is that both questions are about a crime that was transformed by Picasso into a great cry of protest against the barbarians.

And then we recall that Mastermind was created by Bill Wright, who had been interrogated for a month by the Gestapo. He transformed a quiz where he was required to pass on all of the questions (apart from, name, rank and number, I suppose) to one where

mind was never just a quiz. It was about defending British culture against the barbarians - against a world in which "knowledge" was becoming the stuff that helped you win on Noel Edmonds's Telly

Who was Neville Chamberlain Who was Nemesis? What were the seven wonders of the ancient world? Knowing this sort of thing was what made us civilised. And there's nothing like a quiz to make all that knowledge seem useful, Magnus Magnusson, as a prelude

to the last Mastermind, did not let us go without a history lesson. The last Mastermind came from St Magnus Cathedral on the island of Orkney, "the furthest North we've ever been" and a place which was once under Norse rule. Was Magnus saying, "All that is solid melts can pass away into ruin and rune"? | to judge.

It leads me to think that Master- | It was certainly a severe place for a

Get on with it, I can hear you saying. Who won? The strange thing was that it didn't seem to matter. The contestants were probably nervous and excited, but it would have been much more interesting to listen to Magnus talking about Norse sagas. Anne Ashhurst, who writes Mills

& Boon novels under the name Sarah Craven, chose Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, as her specialist subject. "To which of Barbara's lovers, found hiding in a cupboard, did the king reputedly say, 'I forgive you, for you do it for your bread?" She answered, "John Churchill." Which, like almost everything else she said, was correct. She won with a score of 34. Her questions seemed a tad easier than some of the questions asked of into air . . . all those modern things | the other contestants, but it is hard

We were happy she won by wouldn't have minded if some else had won. There was very les in it. The applause was unexcited

Magnus gave a short bree? speech, ending with the words To started - now I've finished ha taking the black chair home wil him. I imagine him sitting in it as old man and wondering if he shall have given up so much of his and intelligence to Masternial
When the light shines hard in for eyes, Magnus, I think the answig

Up and down the British kis there are Brians, Paulines, Sinon and Sarahs (and Desmonds) the can put away the encyclopsedic the "Novels of Anthony Trillog Andubon's The Birds Of America and Gibbon's The Rise And Fall The Roman Empire. No one bear going to shine a bright light in this eyes and ask them questions si their life depended on the answer.

Life gets sweeter

CINEMA Richard Williams

A BOUT halfway through Mike Leigh's Career Girls, something rather wonderful happens. You've spent the better part of an hour watching incidents from the lives of two ordinary young women. You've seen them as students and coping with the world of work. And then it comes upon you that, before your eyes, these two girls have turned into something very like angels.

That's what Leigh can do. That's what several months of rescurch and rehearsal, of getting the actors o create the characters from within themselves, can achieve. If it does nothing else, even if it fails to tell us a proper story. Career Girls shows us that physical beauty is not the exclusive property of the physically beautiful, even on celluloid

Apart from similarities of age and general culture, the two women ould hardly be more different. As a first-year English student, which is how we initially meet her, Hannah (Katrin Cartlidge) is all anorexle sharpness, spitting contempt, facile wordplay and superficial mindgames. "I'm Hann-AH," she tells a newcomer with a flounce, a Lady Bracknell of the Caledonian Road "It's maroon," she observes, looking at a piece of furniture. "We're marooned." Instinctively, you'd pay to move to the next postal district

rather than deal with her need for ntellectual dominance. But when Annie (Lynda Steadman), studying psychology, arrives from Wakefield to share her North London flat, she brings a dopey pasivity and a terminal diffidence --not to mention asthma, nervous twitches, and a horrifying case of

and temperament of her new partner. Their time together is spent in a miasma of soliff smoke, takeaway curry fumes, insults and silences, Cure records, second-hand clothes and hardly any sex. The student rituals are beautifully observed When they need to make a decision or are overcome by a sudden yearning for a clue to the direction life is taking, they blindly stab a finger at a random page of Wuthering Heights: a post-punk version of the I Ching.

Six years later, Annie is taking the train from Doncaster to visit Hannah. She looks like the secretary she's become. Neat and tidy, dermatitis gone. It's no surprise that one in an hour and a half

she's back living with her mobel Hannah, hardly less brusque zd edgy than before, is a junior exective with a stationery company. So bus a spruce new flat, a fax machine and a company car. The contact between their voices — Hammis rapid London patter, Annie's gentdeliberate Yorkshire accent seems even greater than when by first met. Cirudually, in between the refer

Accusations of artistic immorality or, worse, amorality) and aesthetic ive reminiscence ("These mugs." worthlesaness are tiresome to remember when we bought them ute: everyone ends up having to You had cystitis") and the nervous isten to an unhappy history lesson. appraising glances, and despite to apparent divergence of their he Sensation is an overdue exhibithey rediscover something of the ion. That it is held at the Royal Acadold selves. "That's what I admin my rather than at the Hayward or about you, the way you deal with men," Annie says. "That's all i do." he Tate feels exactly right. You need to see the show for yourselves to apreciate quite how well these artists Hannah replies, "deal with them."

Leigh moves back and lum between the two eras, a device his encourages us to apply our on imaginations to the developme the characters — which will hardly be possible without it remarkable work of Cartidge mi Steadman, You could easily age that there Isn't a proper narmine and that most of the subsidiar characters are purely functional b serted merely to open up lor a

some facet of the women's lives. "Real people are by definition teresting," Leigh has said, and career Girls the people set of Perhaps Leigh is a caricatula, 3 sometimes claimed by those who feel uneasy about the way his acon heighten mannerisms. But he si caricaturist who loves his character

what we begin to feel for these to skin resolve into something bear ful, almost classical. Annes significant than the occ man cuts through and dentes h her head with a blue chiffen there is a moment of satural

ing to drown in affection for and Annie, Leigh reintrod friend Ricky (Mark Benton), si fuelled on chips with curry his thoughts and urges obscured layers of tics and shuffles. White we are forced to glimpse the through another set of the layers. Leigh seems to be saying in can you really expect to know

face of British art over the looks. Rather than representing a ground-breaking shift away from High Modernist ambitions and goals, much of it belongs, seam-lessly, with the dominant trends of 20th century art. There are echoes here of Surreal-

ism, with the existential, humanist trends in European sculpture of the thirties, forties and fifties, strong links with Pop art and irreverent appropriations of minimalist manners. That some of the work strains to be transgressive, but ends up rhetorifor life for her part in the Moors cal and lacking in magic or real shock, says something about the way in which we have become inured to extreme images. What the young British artists in

Sensation share, apart from the patronage of Santchi, and their cloy-ingly over-documented social life, is elements clipped and collaged from harder to define, more a question of attitude than of form. Much of the Chapman's sculptural tableaux and the works of Sarah Lucas are prime work is double-edged. It deals with volatile, heavyweight issues while maintaining a calculated air of indifference. There is something suave about much of it, in its heterogenous amalgamation of devices and manners that have appeared in

more extreme form elsewhere. This is especially apparent in Sensation's newer painting: the work of Richard Patterson, for example, owes much to American Poppainters; James Rielly's small, pallid, faux-naït and slightly sinister figurations are redundant echoes of the Belgian Luc Tuymans, I cannot mhabit these grand, top-lit salons. share Charles Saatchi's enthusiasm Taking these works away from the for Jenny Saville, whose images blank acres of the Saatchi Gallery, may be arresting but whose accomplishments as a painter seem to me to be extremely limited. pages of the style magazines enables

Jake and Dinos Chapman's morphed mannegulas, with their hard bodies, their dead eyes and their polymorphous perversities, share something with the glossy sheen of Patterson's and Alain Miller's paintings. Their air of indifference, set against volatile subject matter, is the real cool in Cool

This is also apparent in the presentation of viscera in Damien



Hirst's vitrines. These works are the opposite of expressionism, in that they don't give you any clues as to what the artists feel about the subject matter, or if they feel anything at all.

They don't tell the viewer what to feel, either. This, I think, is what upsets people so much. We are coerced into looking by all the dramatic devices and hooks at the artists' disposal, and placed in a position where we have to deal with our own contradictory feelings of attraction and disgust. In this sense, we become engaged in the spectacle, and implicated in it.

The unifying feature of much of the work is the friction between content and form, levity and seriousness, vulnerability and aggression. Saatchi has bought some of the

best work produced in this country over the past decade, but also some of the least important. His importance as a collector cannot be overstated, however without him, his interest and his cash, the energy of

probably have faltered long ago.

As Marc Quinn's cust of his own head in his own refrigerated blood darkens with age, it has begun to assume the quality of a relic, dragged up from some sci-fi catacomb, while Jane Simpson's strange, boving piece of furniture, with its refrigerated top, begins to look like the 18th entury antique it apes.

The strengths and weaknesses of ensation can be summed up by two uxtapositions. The show's strongest moment comes in the room containng Rachel Whiteread's Ghost, her cast of the interior of a Victorian terrace living room. This mute plastercast looks absolutely stunning here. Having approached it, we turn, and find Richard Billingham's photos of family life on the walls.

The works mirror one another: Whiteread's blank plaster Ghost is a solidified domestic space, bearing the scantest traces of lives lived and

photographs, on the other hand expose the everyday lives of his family in shocking, painfully candid detail. What is absent in Ghost is all too present in Billingham's vėritė photos. I found this contrast incredi-

The second juxtaposition concerns Marcus Harvey's portrait of Myra Hindley, This 12ft-high picture has an uninterrupted view through four doorways to a small room containing an edited version of the Chapman Brothers' woodland bacchanal, first shown at the ICA last year. Between the bushes we see pre-pubescent girls, melded totwins. That Hindley's image faces them adds crucity to insult. It is cheap and pitiless conjunction, none the better for being — apparently accidental.

The portrait of Myra Hindley is based on a photographic image familiar to just about every adult in Britain. It has been printed and reprinted thousands of times. It is embedded in the national consciousness. That an artist would one day use it was inevitable.

Harvey's rendering of Hindley's image reflects its origins in half-tone newsprint reproductions and digitised, pixelated images. The monumental scale does not necessarily turn Hindley into an icon (not even an icon of evilt. The scale of the image has a lot to do with the size of Harvey's pictorial building blocks - not the half-tone dot, not the computer pixel, not even a brushstroke, but a child's handprint.

Are we to judge the painting on the basis of suppositions about the painter's moral standaging or verversa? Is the image more offensive for being equite literally) handmade, rather than mechanically or electronically reproduced? is the face of Hindley offensive in itself, or because it hangs in the Royal Acadenty? That it is a painted image, using oil paint, does not necessarily bestow the image with approval. There is some pathos in the fact that this child murderer is constructed with the multiple imprint of an infant's hand.

If the Academy chooses to tear itself apart over the exhibition, that's its lookout. If some resign because Sensation gives offence, others might well be driven to resign if the show is censored. No one is being forced to see these works. But for those with an interest in British art over the past decade, Sensation is essential viewing. The debate, I think, has barely begun.

Pomp amid strange circumstance

Adam Sweeting

"OH, LOOK," chuckled compere Terry Wogan, pointing out into the crowd carpeting Hyde Park. "Somebody in a leckchair has died of exposure." It was by no means the warmest day of the year, but at least the piercing blue sky and salmon-tinted sunset meant there was no danger of this second incarnation of Prome In The Park being swept away in a

Anyway, sitting in a London park in mid-September, watchig your breath freeze in front of ou, is no more irrational than the Last Night Of The Proma itself. The event's qualities — if that's the word — have long since ceased to be musical. Its formula of school hymns and stout patriotic bluster blows a loud raspberry to all the weird experimental stuff they've been playing during the Proms season

Proms In The Park adds a dash of the unexpected. While the menu remains determinedly middle-brow, and the crowds are doomed to join the traditional rituals inside the Albert Hall in the later part of the evening, the park experience is free to leap about in unexpected directions as long as none of them lasts longer than five minutes. Thus, after a warm-up from

George Melly, the Pasadena Roof Orchestra and the blazerand-boater croonings of the Thames Valley Chorus, a Radio 2 jingle introduced Terry Wogan, and Wogan — following a brief eulogy to Princess Diana,

whose aura inevitably hovered in the sunset — gave us the BBC Concert Orchestra playing the Radetzky March, Dull? Yes, but soon Joshua Rifkin was playing Scott Joplin's rag The Entertainer, while John Williams contributed a slab of Rodrigo's guitar concerto.

In part two, although there was no escape from Jerusalem and Rule Britannia, parkdwellers enjoyed a temporary diversion while Larry Adler played his harmonica to George Gershwin's Rhapsody In Blue, and John Williams's rendition of Tarrega's Recuerdos De La Uhambra came complete with a Judith Chalmers-style travel video, projected on giant acreens

Edward Greenfield adds: Verdi's Requiem, the penultimate Prom, became a memorial twice over. It was poignant that,

when the audden death of Sir Georg Solti was announced this month, he was due to conduct the Verdi Requiem. By that time, as Nicholas Kenyon, the BBC's controller of music, explained in moving introduction, Sold had welcomed the idea of making the concert a memorial performance for Princess Diana. It followed naturally that the maestro's name was added to the memorial, with Sir Colin Davis the perfect choice of conductor in bis stead.

Perfect too was the choice of work. The "Libera me" from this requiem was included in the **Vostminster Abbey funeral** service, because it was a favourite piece of the Princess's. Solti too had it in his blood. As a great Verdian he regularly drew from this most dramatic of liturgical works an operatic as well as a religious fervour.

That operatic element was the very quality in the Verdi

Requiem that for generations prevented British audiences from appreciating this masterpiece at its full worth. One might even speculate that it was that quality, defying established formality, which attracted the princess. Yet how different a British audience is now, most of all this Prom audience, apilling. over from the mourning that has been engulfing Britain.

0

Davis, too, responded to the occasion with a performance both dedicated and dramatic. If latterly in his recordings of great choral works, including the Verdi Requiem, he has too often leaned towards the heavyweight, it was different on this occasion. From the whispered plantssimos at the start he found drama in extremes of expressiveness, drawing the most incisive singing and playing from the London Symphony Chorus and the London Symphony Orchestra.



The nose has it . . . Antony Sher in Edmond Rostand's Cyrano

A triumph of lonely absurdity

THEATRE Michael Billington

T WO nationwide touring shows kicked off in Stratford this month, Both are of plays that offer star parts often played in romantic-heroic style. Both, as it happens, take a revisionist line, but whereas Gregory Doran's production of Cyrano De Bergerac in The Swan does so with great success, Ron Daniels's Henry V in the Royal Shakespeare Theatre often goes against the textual grain.

Antony Sher plays Edmond Rostand's Cyrano, and you feel it was an inevitable conjunction. playing solitary outsiders. What he brings to the celebrated poetic swordsman with the big conk is a distilled Ioneliness. Shor's Cyrano is isolated by his genius as a fighter and a writer and, despite his love for Roxane, seizes upon the liberty this endows.

In the poignant words of De Guiche at the end of the play, "He's one of those rare animals that have opted to be free." This is what distinguishes Sher's Cyrano from recent occupants of the role. He gives us a small. faintly bookish man who is aware of his own absurdity. He is sheepishly shy when he admits his hidden passion to Le Bret, and even stumbles on the word "loneliness" as if he can't quite bear to pronounce it.

tude begets a kind of wild intemperance. He shins down ropes, fights extravagant duels, gladly accepts the leadership of the Gascon cadets who here resemble a hearty, foot-stamping rugby club. He makes you feel these are all displacement activities for Cyrano's painful self-consciousness. He finds something new in the role: the poetsatirist's awareness that the price of independence is separation ("I've missed everything, even my own death"). At the same time he reminds us that

Rostand's play survives because it enshrines two romantic myths Beauty and the Beast, and the Max Beerbohm said Rostand's hero was a mix of Caliban, Sir Galahad and the punster Theodore Hook: Sher gives us all three. His performance is the first I've seen to convince you that this might be the historical Cyrano who wrote that ploneer

ing sci-fi novel, Voyages To The Moon And The Sun. Michael Sheen also takes a radically revisionist line on Shakespeare's Henry V in Ron Daniels's modern-dress produc tion. Gone is the old notion of Henry as the glamorous embodi ment of England. Sheen is an obsessive, uniformed militarist. In battle, his brutal pragmatism shocks even his most devoted. followers: Gloucester tries to seize a hand-mike from him as

fieur with unspeakable torment. Only in the wooing of Katherine (the astonishing Juliette Grecolike Karine Adrover) does he

mature into grace. You see the idea: this is one of those war-is-hell productions, in which Henry embodies the idea of cynical territorial gain. But, although Sheen is an exciting young actor and loyally carries out the concept, Daniels's version has a monochrome monotony that works against Shakespeare's strangely equivocal play: a na-tional epic that acknowledges the cruelty of war. Here there is little sign of Henry's humour and humanity. When he cries, after andry since I came to France until this instant", it is untrue: he has been in a perpetual lather since he arrived in Calais.

Henry V obviously presents a problem in the modern age. But Daniels's vehemently anti-war production, which might have made more sense in the immediate aftermath of the Falklands seems oddly out of touch with the present mood: bellicose jingoism is passé and, as many commentators pointed out, the extraordinary events of this mouth showed the growth of a softer, more feminine spirit. In riding his own particular hobby horse, Daniels ends up making the play seem less complex, varied and emotionally ambigu-

ous than it actually is.

facial dermatitis — that form an improbably perfect fit with the habits

and who can make us love themion An emotion very similar to break

cast gaze starts to seem blazing glance with which congenital meekness. As she com atiliness and grace. But just when we might be



Slaves of the zeitgeist

Gliss Foden

Shadows of Empire by Allan Massie Sinclair-Stevenson 371pp £16.99

■ N the wake of devolution, Scots should buy this book and one or two others. Novels by the likes of Walter Scott and Robert Louis Stevenson, who recorded Scotland's troublesome absorption into that now unfashionable entity, Great Britain - and then themselves became part of the cultural apparatus that marked out Scotland's difference within that entity. Later authors such as John Buchan, a colonial administrator as well as a novelist. reprised this (mainly invented) romantic heritage of old Scotland through empire adventures.

The adventures were real as well as imagined. For the ambitious Scot, success meant "making the English Empire British". Colonial opportunities, combined with the moral extremism of Presbyterianism, were a tonic for nationalist indigestion: settlers in more ways than one, the flower of Scotland packed their bags.

This is the literary background to Shadows Of Empire. The prodigious Allan Massie — chronicler of other | lively pictures of a world gone by: the

allen powers in his novels about Roman emperors — has produced a tale of four brothers whose various fates at the fag-end of British Imperialism are bound to disappoint their father, a minor politician and heir to a wealthy Clydeside shipbuilding family. Clearly based on Buchan, he also a bestselling author of "shockers" with, like Buchan, an

estate in Oxfordshire. As the boys grow up, we see the father's hopes of national regeneration after the first world war serially dashed by his offspring: shady George, who rejects the family to become a Maughamesone planter in Malaya (and ends up in a Japanese prisoner of war camp); buttonedup Hector, whose homosexuality, Marxism and job in the Foreign Office leave him well placed as a putative l'ifth Man; impressionable Alastair, whose enthusiasm for the cinema leads him to Berlin between

the wars and, eventually, fascism. The fourth brother and narrator of the novel is Alec, a poet who (once his over-hented "colour pieces" have calmed down) becomes foreign editor of a newspaper. His descriptions of his siblings allow Massie - In what is probably his best book to date - to scan the period and offer

Spanish Civil War, Chamberlain and

his piece of paper, partisans in Yugo-

slavia, the Nuremberg trials. Later on come visions of Scotland as "Maggie Thatcher's theme park", and various intimations of release from that bondage, not all of them savoury.

One reaches the end of this elegiac, beautifully modulated book wondering how the brothers could possibly have made a success of their lives, all of which are circumscribed by forces beyond their understanding. In particular, they are unable to see how insistence on ideological and cultural specificity can paradoxically end up cruding the virtues they are intended to

In the final pages, set in 1984, the ngeing Alec is visited by a young Scottish journalist who quizzes him about his life as they visit Ardtochish House, once seat of his shipbuilding great-grand-father, now a country club hotel. They agree on one thing: that, in the hotel's atmosphere of Scottish baronial fantasy, the prevalence of tartan was as depressing as the confident babble from the cocktail bar". Here's hoping that the Scottish renaissance, if there is one, amounts to more than that,

States of perception

Adrian Searle

The Epic History of Art in America by Robert Hughes Harvill 648pp £35

OBERT HUGHES has been the New York-based art critic of Time magazine since 1970. He has also written marvellous books about the colonisation of his home country, Australia, and the history of Barcelona, and made two highly successful television series. Last year British viewers saw Visions Of America, a series devoted to Hughes's love affair with the United States, seen through the eyes of its art. It was an epic series devoted to an epic tale: big country, big ideas and, sometimes, very big art. And now it's a big book. American hubris, as well as

American philistinism, puritanism, conservatism and - let us not forget — creativity run through this book. Visions Of America takes us from mud-built mission churches to the chill commercial voids of 1980s SoHo commercial galleries, from a 17th century New Mexican sculpture of the Virgin to Andres Serrano's 1987 photo of a plastic crucifix, suspended in a tank of the artist's urine. But it's not all panorama or controversial and landmark artworks: Hughes is vivid on details, on the pointed finials of Shaker furniture and the pop-up headlarups of the 1936 Cord Sedan. He notices things, and his insights and details keep us grounded.

Describing beautifully an 1872 aminist painting of the sea and constline of Long Island, he says: "II s as mysterious and almost as abstract as a Rothko, and yet no one who has sailed or fished those waters can fail to recognise its perceptual truth." One can be sure lughes has done both.

As much as it is a vision of America, Hughes's book is a vision of Americans. He is great on characters, and on the put-down. Writing about Pavis de Chevmines - who showed more than 30 canvases at the eathartic Armory show, which first brought European modernism to New York in 1913 - Hughes calls his work "Low-Protein Poussin". That's exactly right. Mabel Dodge, hostess and a member of the

Armory committee, was a manie impressive heiress . . . the Mix Piggy of the early American analy garde", whose leftwing sentiments did not interfere with her "releates narcissism". Then there is John According to Hughes, Audubon, be illegitimate son of a French merchant and slaver, and a Haitian chanbermaid, was "self-inflated, paragoid and a bit of a thug".

At times, Hughes himself blus ters and bullies, but it is all a matter of striking a balance in a book almed at a general reader: putting the essentials to the fore, keeping us alert with savoury anecdotes entertaining himself, and mostly his readers, with his asides. Along the way we learn about sawmills, quiks sharks, sacred mountains in Catalonia as well as in the West, Grant Wood's repressed homosenality and its importance in reading his apple-pie icon American Gothic Maraden Hartley's political naively, in-fights and insurance scams, and much more.

As we move closer to our own times, the harder it is to be clear about what is important and valuable in art. History loses its grip, and hype and gossip, friendship patterns and animosities take over. Hughes is aware of this, but not immune from it. His reading of ook war art, and especially that of the 1970s onwards, becomes more troubled and less assured. He's more at home, one feels, in the age of Herman Melville, Henry James and Sargent, on the rivers and seas of Thomas Fakins and Winslow Homer, or on the wagon-train route with Albert Bierstadt, heading into the sunset of the Sublime.

America, once distant, exotic and dangerous, became, in the postwar years, the centre of the international art world. New York became Artworld. Recently, it has begun to lose its claim as the home of the artistcally brave. There are more artists in America now - Hughes makes this point somewhere — than there were people in 15th century Florence. Sorting out what's valuable has become extremely problematic. No wonder he gets bellicose towards the end of the book. But that said, it is an honest reflection of his percep tions. And that's the best we can ask of any critic.

To order this book at the special discount price of £30, contact CultureShop (see ad on page 29)

Following the formula James Audubon, undoubtedly the greatest ornithological paints

lames Wood Enduring LOVE by lan McEwan ionathan Cape 247pp £15.99

> ■AN McEWAN'S fictions are prodigies: they do everything but move us. This new novel is (ull of those lean virtues that stretch his past work. The anxious discipline of his prose style (its subdued artistry); the acute, superintendent intelligence, shaping and ordering the material; the thematic geomelry, whereby McEwan bends each fiction into intellectual inquiry. Yet a writer this talented should be hetter than McEwan is.

McEwan is a good and not a great writer because he seems to lack a capacity for deep austhetic surprise. Instead, he has become increasingly a novelist who trades in narrative surprises - secrets. disclosures, hidden symbols, the gargitations of the unconscious. His stories can function as symbolic code-work because they are over before we have time to resent their calculatedness. But his novels suffocate with design. They trap their subjects in prim webs of information and argumentation

Enduring Love can thus be seen is the fruit of McEwan's love of ficdonal neatness. For it is essentially a snappy thriller, sprung on a bed of conceptual horsehair. It is clever and immensely gripping. Its protagoaists have more plausibility than hey would have in an actual thriller. but not much more life. In general, he book has a thinness of literary texture (perhaps half a dozen really striking sentences) which represents a considerable starvation of McEwan's rich early stories. It

the thriller conventions

that weaken the novel's abil-

by to move us, and that lemote its status as a literary artefact. The plot almost exactly matches the ideal scheme commanded by Syd Field, in his manual. Screenplay: The Foundations Of

tion. Field suggests that the classic thriller involves a subject who is the victim of a danger which is revealed to us in the set-up; in the second act. the victim has to confront this danger; and in the third act, the victim how two people who supposedly love and know each other — Joe must go from being a victim to an aggressor - he must react to, and conquer, danger. McEwan's novel proves Field durable. In the first chapter (su-

Screenwriting. The Hollywood formula, according to Field, is tri-

partite: set-up; confrontation; resolu-

perbly described - the best passage in the book), Joe Rose, who narrates the novel, witnesses a terrible accident in which a man dies. This is the "set-up". One of the other witnesses of this accident, Jed Parry, conceives a violent love for Joe. He begins to stalk Joe, to phone nim, to write to him four times a week, and to hang around outside his house. He issues what seems like a verbal threat.

As is familiar from the movies, no one really believes Joe. The police are indifferent. Clarissa, Joe's girlfriend, feels that Joe is exaggerating. But Jed Parry gets violent: he sends two men into a restaurant to shoot loe. They get the wrong table. Still the police are unconvinced, So Joe, in Field's terms, becomes an aggressor. He goes it alone, He buys a gun. At this point, the book becomes a little ludicrous, as convention encourages. Driving back from the gun purchase, Joe is phoned on his cellular by Jed Parry. led has taken Clarissa hostage in their Maida Vale flat. Joe arrives at his house and shoots Jed, who is put in an asylum for the rest of his life.

H1' does all this make a bard, clean read, but fail to make a true literary achievement? Partly it has to do with McEwan's intellectual cleanness. and his decision to clothe his story in thriller dress. We accept McEwan's argument about rationalism and irrationalism, about the adaptive piology of the relationship, because it is so smartly handed to us. But we hardly experience it as animate fic tion. It remains argument. This is a formal problem. Joe is

It is a pity that McEwan felt a

need to serrate his plot to this blade-

like acuteness. For a thicker story,

which is McEwan's real interest

gets cut away in the process, and is

rather mocked by the narrative ex-

citements. McEwan wants to exam-

ine how the irrational might

undermine a man's rationalism; and

and Clarissa - can interpret the

same experience quite differently.

Joe is a science writer, a rational

evolutionary biology. Clarissa is a

lecturer in English, who finds Joe's

rationalism too neat and univocal.

puts a number of paradoxes into

play: it is Joe, the rationalist, who

loses coutrol; it is Clarissa, the emo-

tionalist, who becomes unemo-

tional. Once Joe feels that he lacks

Clarissa's support, he decides that

he is on his own. But, paradoxically,

Clarissa complains that she cannot

support him because he has re-

treated inside his own emotions. We

see two people struggle to adapt to a

terrible experience, an event whose

degrading significance they can

their relationship apart.

only understand after it has broken

Once Joe is being stalked, McEwan

st who is persuaded by the latest

and quite selfishly.

supposed to be driven to the limits of his rationalism by the events of the book. But we do not really see these limits because he is the narrator of the book and tells the story in such McEwan-like calm. And then the book's thrillersh excitements begin to strip the characters of their potential complexity. For a while, early in the book, it looks as if McEwan

might be essaying a study in mental breakdown, and that Joe's stalker might be a figment of his imagination, as Mr Golvadkin's stalker might be his creation Dostoevsky's The Double. But this layer of ambiguity and sugges-tion is pushed aside by the sheer materiality of the plot. As soon as the stalker is sending hit-men in latex masks to restaurants it becomes impossible to believe that Joe might be hallucinating.

Dostoevsky's supreme interest is consciousness. But McEwan's novel swerves from consciousness and withers, like the genre to which it is related, into a game of ways and menns (guns, hostages, rescue). And more importantly perhaps, the plottightening steers the book away from aesthelic surprise:

how can a language of real complexity compete with all this noise? In the end, this is one of those books that describes life-changing experiences and yet leaves the reader unchanged. At bottom, this is because its central characters barely exist for us; they have no afterlife in the mind.

Dark side of the tracks

Natasha Waiter

Night Train by Martin Amis Jonathan Cape 150pp £10.99

IFYOU usually like Martin Amis's books, you probably won't like Night Train. At the age of 24, with the publication of The Rachel Papers, Amis already sounded jaded; by the time he was 35, with the publication of Money, his voice was so world-weary that nothing could come as any kind of shock to him or to his readers. He charted the descent of sex into pornography, of friendship into envy, of ambition into greed all with emotionless aplomb.

With Night Train, Amis has taken a rather different direction. This is not a strikingly clever book, and it isn't funny. I reads like the work of a much younger man than his other nov els. Unlike his other works, it naks you not to keep your distance, but to come close and suffer with the narrator.

The purrator in question is Mike Hoolihan, a policewoman in a generic American town, who is working on an odd case: the suicide of a young woman called Jennifor Rockwell, Mike knew Jennifer before her death, and knew her as a young woman whose open smile, cool intelligence, social warmth and beauty marked her out as extraordinarlly blessed. And so the discovery of Jennifer in her pretty apartment, naked, with her brains blown out, strikes Hoolihan not ust as a shock, but as an end-

essly troubling mystery. As Hoolihan attempts to lay that mystery to rest, Amis takes us down the paths of the traditional detective novel: the autopsy, the interviews with lennifer's doctor, lover and friends in dingy bors and smoky police cells. But the point of this detective story is that there is no point; Jennifer didn't commit suicide for any of the comfortingly banal reasons that Hoolihan tries to ascribe to her - clinical depression, sexual imbroglios, work crises, money

troubles. Hoolihan is really the heroine of this tale; the woman who works in a man's world and has a man's name, but remains tied into traditional feminine virtues – compassion, sincerity, that sort of thing. In her and in lennifer Rockwell, Amis turns a corner; for the first time he has created heroines who are defined not by their underwear and the size of their bres their work and relationships and

human disappointments. What's more, the two women have a connection even after death. Here we have the usual Amis pairing of an ugly, unlucky rotagonist set against a beautiul, lucky one; the same pairing that we see in Success or The Information, But here it leads to empathy, not enmity. As Hoolihan hunts through the false clues that Jennifer leaves her. she struggles to enter fully into her mind, and Jennifer's despair gradually becomes her own. It is mpossible to overstate the difference that this current of ordinary sympathy makes to Amis's imaginative world. It makes a Juddering contrast with the plot's nihilism, and that unresolved conflict between love and cynicism gives this book a haunting, unsettling quality that Amis has never achieved before.

All this is not to say that Night Train is an unadulterated success. It may be emotionally richer than Amis's previous novels, but in terms of style and form it doesn't measure up. For a start, its brevity doesn't allow the themes the space they require. Too often Amis uses shorthand images culled from films and fiction, or riffs of rhetoric that haven't been fied in to experience. Why, for instance, are we told in just one paragraph that Hooliban was abused by her father? Child sexual abuse has been used too often in fiction as the key to a woman's past to be anything but a dim cliché unless it is brought

And Hoolihan's dialogue keeps slipping into flat rhythms that have been culled from American screen cops. After her appearance in Night Train, Hoolihan could take bit parts in Cagney and Lacey without missing a beat, "'Who the fuck wants to know?" 'The law,' I said, 'that's who the fuck wants to know," or "You feel like you need a lawyer? You feel like you need a lawyer, hey, we can whistle one up.** When Amis slips away from such talk, he sometimes slins um can you credit a detective sergeant who compares Robespierre's and Cicero's

prose style? Even the image of the night train isn't worked through. It's a sound that cuts through Hoolihan's apartment night after night, but I think we heard that symbol of urban anomie in the trashy Hollywood film, Seven, and it's not much subtler in Amis's hands than it was on the screen. As Hoolihan remarks at one point: "TV. etc. has had a terrible effect on perpetrators

. But TV has also fucked up us police. No profession has been so massively fictionalised." Indeed, Amis staggers under the dead weight of "TV, etc" - it dulls bis responses and slows down his prose.

But through all its losses and lapses, something remains with you at the end of this book. "Ever have that childish feeling. with the sun on your salty face and ice-cream melting in your mouth, that you want to cancel worldly happiness, turn it down as a false lead?" asks Hoolihan. Amis has remembered that the sun is out there, even if it is a

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Paperbacks Nicholas Lezard

Language is Power: The Story of Standard English and Its Enemies, by John Honey (Faber, £8.99)

WHICH Professor Honey makes a stirring defence of standard English, claiming (in short) that the underclass is always going to remain the underclass until they learn to speak proper. It's not actually a joking matter. He produces numerous spine-chilling instances of teachers who are discouraged from correcting faulty grammar, and educationalists and sociolinguists who

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AUTHORS WORLD-WIDE INVITED MINERVA PRESS

regard as anathema the idea that one version of the language can be inferior to another; who hold that Nuency and capability in standard English is a straightforward perpetlation of the class system.

There are two main problems. The first is that response to this book will divide on rigidly predictable political lines - the left will go boo, the right will cheer. But I see no contradiction between a desire for social justice and a desire for empowerment through confidence in one's fluency. The other problem is that Honey seems to be on the way to thinking that standard English is some kind of magic wand that can be waved against a collapsing society. Worth looking at, even if only to disagree: But see Dick Leith's book; too.

A Social History of English, by Dick Leith (Routledge, £12.99)

EITH has a very hard time in

standard English was essentially created in the 16th century by government functionaries and small groups of literati, a term he uses to mean an exclusive and snobbish group of intellectuals." I'm not sure he means that at all. Leith's book updated from the 1983 edition) i very learned, forgiving and clearheaded. It is the one to turn to if Honey's is too depressing.

Anthology of Black Humour. by André Breton, trs Mark Polizzotti (City Lights, £15.99)

BRETON'S collection, designed to provide an entrie to the Surrealist state of mind by letting people know what he thought funny. took him longer to produce than almost any of his other works, made him unpopular with the Vichy government, and didn't earn him a bean. But it's fascinating, as it shows not only who he thought were the most important Surrealists of his time, but who he considered Prof Honey's book. "For Leith, Surrealists avant la lettre. Contri-

Swift, Lewis Carroll, De Quincey, Nietzsche, De Sade. Take Me There, by Paul Mathur (Bloomsbury, £5,99)

UBTITLED "Oasis the story S[sic]. If you want to know their

story, this will certainly be helpful; Mathur spent three years with them, with his head stuck firmly up their arses. Sorry, I mean, with his just want to get the publicity. eyes and ears wide open and his notebook ready for action. "And now, in the San Francisco hotel bar, Liam explains what Oasis are all about. "You f***ing know, Paul We're the best band in the world. By miles." Thank you for clearing that up for us.

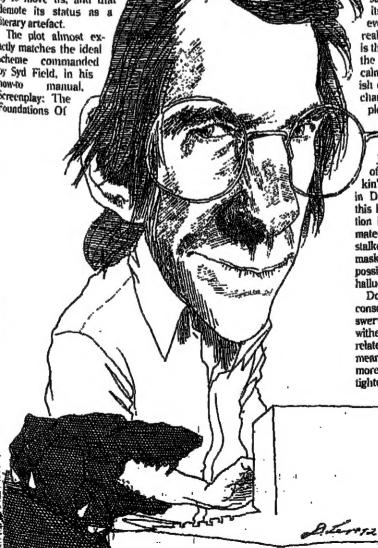
Camden Girls, by Jane Owen (Penguin, £6.99)

So ME and Juno and Meliasa House, the only house in House, the only house in House, the only house in House and House the only house in House and House the only house in House, the house in H Penguin asked us if we wanted to be I many colour pictures.

butors you may be familiar with: | novelists. Sounds a laugh I said but don't know nuffink about that So she said just go on about what it's like being a top babe taking loads of drugs and hanging around with musos. So I said I dunno I'll think about it. She said it's easy, we'll do the selling for you, we of this new movement called Brillit And I said but I'll write the work novel that's ever been written and she said who's going to read it? We

Little-Known Museums in and around London, by Rachel Kaplan (Abrams, £13.95)

NOTHING special about this book, except that it is exact, what it claims to be, it is the manner of the claims to be, it is the manner of the claims to be, it is the manner of the claims to be, it is the manner of the claims to be, it is the manner of the claims to be, it is the manner of the claims to be, it is the manner of the claims to be, it is the manner of the claims to be, it is the manner of the claims to be, it is the manner of the claims to be, it is the manner of the claims to be a second or what it claims to be, it is browse through, and is used. Check out the Cabaret Mechanic Theatre, the Clink Prison in City Street, and the Dennis Series, the only house in Lord Still lit by gaslight. Probably a still lit by gaslight.



Paul Evans

ANG! In the clear, still Alpine air, an ear-splitting noise like a sonk boom exploded and its echoes bounced around the high mountain cliffs, Perhaps it was an avalanche or a glacier cracking, goodness knows, but it was certainly a reminder of bow vulnerable you can be in the mountains, even on a bright, sunny day. A little memo from Nature perhaps.

The narrow trail to Oberbargli

traverses the cliffs and scree slopes of Oschischafberg with a precipitous drop to the wonderfully deep blue lake, Öeshinensee, far below. Opposite, the massive snow-topped peaks and glaciers of the Bilimlisalp mountain circle around, enclosing this great hole in the alps of the Bernese Oberland, just to the east of the town of Kandersteg. the mountain sward. This vast amobitheatre of rock. There seem to be more species ice and water seems set for divine dramas on a scale beyond the imaginings of those unfamil

iar with such huge mountains. Although I did see eagles hunting along a high ridge, I did not see chamois. This was probably because of the presence of determined-looking men with felt bats carrying rifles. It was the first day of the chamois hunting season and I assume the chamois were ahead of the game and had skidaddled. No new windscreen wash-leathers for

the hunters today. Within this world of giant scale, the largest animals, apart from a few hikers, are the bellclanging cows that seem to defy gravity and graze contentedly on impossible slopes. But it is what they graze on that is so

The Alpine meadows, famous



for spring flowers, are in bloom throughout their short sesson. Swathes of fleshy-pink meadow saffron — the poisonous, autumn flowering crocus; gentians of an intense blue that mirrors the sky above the ridge tops and the lake below; carline thistles, burnet and saxifrages sparkle in

of wildflowers in one square metre here than you could find in the whole of some English counties. This is partly due to the richness of the mountain limestone flora and partiv because of the way it has been managed for countless gen-

Transhumance — grazing cattle on the mountains in summer and taking them down to the valleys in winter — is still practised. The meadows are also regularly cut throughout the growing season. Even after just a few inches growth, farmers head out with their mowers and rakes to make hay whenever the sun shines.

The more macho farmers seem as gravity-defying as their cattle, mowing and raking in places were most of us would

18

Chess Leonard Barden

A N ENGLISH victory in Europe and a sophisticated version of a classical sacrifice were combined in a recent Hungarian invitation at Balaton, where Peter Wells, the lowestrated of five competing GMs, won first prize with 61/2/10. The Greek Gift is a tactic where a bishop is offered for the h7 pawn, followed by a knight check at g5 to smoke out the eastled king. It's often easy to play, out not here:

Wells v Dumitrache

1 d4 d5 2 c4 e6 3 Nc3 c6 4 Nt3 Nf6 5 e3 Nbd7 6 Bd3 Bd6 7 0-0 0-0 8 e4 Nxe4 9 Nxe4 dxe4 10 Bxe4 Re8?! Black's opening choice is either provocative or naive, for Wells's Batsford book on the Semi-Slav is the definitive work on this defence. Here hi is better.

11 Re1 c5?! 12 Bxh7+! Kxh7 13 Ng5+ Kg6 A classical Greek Gift setting (Black R and B misplaced, White Q and R ready to join the attack) but less simple than it looks. If Black retreats Kg8 then 14 Qh5 Qf6 (or Nf6 15 Qxf7+ Kh8 16 Re4l) 15 Qh7+ Kf8 16 Ne4 Qf5 17 Qh8+ Ke7 18 Qxc8+! wins.

14 g4! 14 Qd3+ f5 15 Nxe6 Rxe6 6 Rxe6+ Nf6 is unclear. Nf8 White threatened 15 Qd3+ f5 16 Rxc6+. 15 Qd3+ f5 16 Qh3 Kf6 17 Qh5 f4 g6? 18 Qh8+ and Ng6 18 Nxe6? lose

18 Re5! The only way, since 18 Qxf7+? Kxg5 fails. White needs to control the fifth rank. Qd7 Not Bxe5 19 dxe5+ Kxe5 20 Nf7+ and wins, 19 Bxf4 Bxe5 20 Bxe5+ Ke7 21 Nf7?! An inaccuracy (2) dxc5i) since Black can now make a fight of it by 21 . . . Rd8! clearing c8

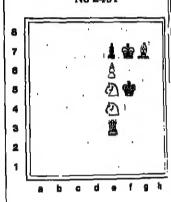
Qu4? 22 Bd6+ Kd7 23 Qxc5 e5 24 d5 Ne6 25 Nxe5+ Kd8 26 Bc7+1 Resigns If Nxc7 27 Nf7+ Kd7 28 Qd6 matc.

rocky promontory, comes the thin Jonathan Levitt's book, Genius Is warble of the goldcrest. Europe's Chess (Batsford, £12.99), is an interesting mix of analyses of how chess talent relates to IQ and creativity, of the finest dramas happen on such a minutely subtle scale. examples of tests that GMs and (threat 3 f3 mate) Resorbers took and multiple-choice Rf3+ Kc4 5 Bg6 mate.

posers on all phases of the game. Diagnosing talent early is important for many chess coaches and leach ers, and it is a pity that the author didn't aim for a more comprehensive work that could be used in schools and junior clubs. Even so, the book can help you improve. Levitt quotes one test of his own

that I really like for sorting out the inspired from the perspirers. Place a white knight on b1, black queen on d4. Now manoeuvre the N from bl to c1 without taking the Q or land ing on any square the Q controls. Even this first step is not easy, but then the knight has to visit el, fl, h1, a2, c2 and so on up the board in sequence, again without putting the N en prise to the Q at any stage, until you reach g8 (h8 is controlled by the BQ). Even Britain's best GM Michael Adams, took more than five minutes to complete this toughtest.

No 2491



against any defence (by Pal Benks, Chess Life 1993). Yes, the piece arrangement really is intended as a large Italians, three Frenchmen and letter F, and Benko composed it significant of a problem sextet to celebrar known and a Uruguayan, with a Bobby Fischer's 50th birthday. A Channel Islander thrown in for good gracions tribute considering that (a) measure, the football was never lischer threw a punch at Benko in 1962 and (b) Fischer has not read his copies of Chess Life for 20 years du to an obscure dispute with the USCF.

No. 2490: 1 Rh3+ Kg4 2 Kg2 Magpies fly high in Europe (threat 3 is mate) Rc2 3 Bh5+ Kb54 Magpies fly high in Europe

Football Premiership: Chelsea 2 Arsenal 3 Winterburn blast

shatters Chelsea David Lacey

IJARDIAN WEEKLY

LREADY Arsenal are looking the most likely alternative to Manchester United as champions, and for the second time this season they are trying out second place, which is the back enrance to the Champions League, for size. In fact, after winning at Samford Bridge last Sunday, they we now two points behind United and could go top on later in the

A late goal from Nigel Winterburn, his first for 18 months, ended he resistance of a Chelsea team educed to 10 men by the dismissal d Frank Leboeuf, their French sweper, midway through the secand half. Just when it seemed that Rud Guilli's reorganised defence sould hold out. Winterburn unlashed a left-footed shot from 25 prds that curled beyond the reach dEd de Goey and into the top rightand corner of the net.

The moment brought a fitting seclusion to a match which had arted with a series of inconseantial clinches but broadened out to one of the more memorable imion derbies once each side had sored towards half-time. Dennis Bergkamp scored Arsenal's first as goals to bring his season's total This was a complex game. With

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

True, it did not often flow as it can do when Cheisea are in full cry, and Arsenal were able to bring a patient, possessive approach to their game only after Leboeuf had been sent off. Even so, the touches of skill and improvisation which both sets of players managed to produce in a match of high speed and little space made it all very watchable. At one point there were portents

of England's imminent World Cup qualifier in Rome when, with Tony Adams now restored to their back four, Arsenal's English guardsmen looked capable of holding Gianhuca Vialli, Gianfranco Zola and Roberto Di Matteo until dusk. Indeed by the end, only Zola of the Italian trio re-

Before losing Leboeuf, shown the red card by Dermot Gallagher for his second bookable foul on Bergkamp, Gullit had taken off Vialli and Di Matteo. The Chelsea manager clearly felt that against Adams and Sieve Bould be needed Mark Hughes's strength in holding the ball up and the additional height of Tor Andre Flo.

At 2-2 Chelsea, as the home side. still had a game to win but once they were down to 10 men their main aim was survival. Gustavo Poyet moved into the back four alongside the excellent Michael Duberry and Mark Hughes withdrew to midfield, leaving Flo alone up front. Until Winterburn struck, this reshuffle looked like preserving a point for Chelsea.

Nearly half the match saw Dennis Wise and Di Matteo trying to outmanoeuvre Vieira and Emmanuel



elebrate his second goal PHOTOGRAPH: BEN RADFORD

lish attacking links with Vialli and Zola. Chelsea found it hard turning their greater possession into scor ing opportunities, although an early shot from Poyet might have brought a goal had it not been smartly blocked by Bookl. But they did take the lead, five minutes before half-time when Poyet put the oall past Scaman.

That goal broke the game's stifling midfield mould and Arsenal drew level a minute before halftime. In the best-worked move of the afternoon Vieira flicked the ball up, lan Wright nodded it through and Bergkamp, who had anticipated the moment, strode clear to slip a low shot past De Goey.

After that one always felt that, whatever Chelsea achieved, Arsenal would probably match it. In fact they went ahead a minute before the hour, courtesy of a defensive

Petit in midfield in order to estab. I muddle by the opposition. Duberry and Leboeuf got in each other's way going for the same ball and Bergkamp gratefully drove Arsenal Not that their cuphoria lasted

long. Within a minute Lebocuf's quick long pass had beaten the offside trap, allowing Mark Hughes to reach the right-hand byline before ligating a centre away from Seaman for Zola to slide the ball into the net. Leboeut's departure looked like

robbing the match of the promised climax but Winterburn changed

 Ian Wright, Patrick Vicira and Steve Walsh have all been reprimanded by the Football Association for their involvement in a bust-up which followed Leicester's 3-3 draw with Arsenal last month. The London club's assistant manager Pat Rice was fined \$800 for his part in the angry clash.

Golf British Masters

Turner prize for nerve

Michael Blair

//HILE all bar one were V thinking thoughts of Valderrama, Greg Turner of New Zealand last Sunday closed his mind to everything but the British Masters at Forest of Arden, and his clarity of purpose took him to the £125,000 first prize. Rarely has so much money been won by a man so unnoticed.

For up ahead Colin Montgomerie was in his wellreheursed burn-up mode. Europe's No 1 for the past four seasons played the front nine in 32 and then accelerated. He birdied the 11th and 14th, eagled the 17th and sank a 10-foot putt to birdie the last.

The scoreboard showed a 63 to equal his own course record. The 5th hole has been ultered since Montgomerie set the previous mark and, when that was pointed out, he said: "This is a new course record. OK?"

Turner, who had a two-shot lead playing the 17th, made his only mistake there but kept his nerve over the five-foot putt on the 18th which held off Montgomerie by a stroke. He signed off with a 70, was 13 under par overall and a model of consistency over the four, sometimes difficult days, "I don't think I'm needed for the Ryder Cup," be drily observed.

Not that a few Ryder Cup considerations were inappropriate. Thomas Bjorn, furiously brushing up his form for the tray, finished in joint-fourth at eight under par, but he must have been numbed at the speed Montgomerie went past him. It may have accounted for him four-putting the 18th.

No matter where Montgomerie seems to be in a tournament, at some stage he is sure to go into overdrive. Here he was one shot off missing the cut --- he had to get up and down from under a tree at the last hole of his second round — and there were even whispered suggestions that, with Valderrams so close, he might not have minded missing the

These moved him first to verbal indignation and then to a practical expression of wrath. Two over at the start of his third round, he was three under at the end of it and from that launch described as his best round of

There are three other contenders for the Order of Merit — Ian Woosnam, Bernhard Langer and Darren Clarke --- and that was the context in which stromerle, now some £80,000 clear, judged his performance.

"Yes, it was so nice to play so well with next Friday's business looming but that", Montgomeric said gravely, "is another ball

 Britain's Laura Davies completed her third victory of the season and the 52nd of her career when she shot a closinground 74 to capture the Hennessy Cup at Refrath, Cologne, last Sunday.

Quick crossword no. 385

Orange-flavoured

liqueur (5,7)

15 Astounding (7)

building (6)

18 Surpass (5)

19 Stupefy (4)

12 Airship (8)

16 Tier of

Across 1 Come down

- from (8) 5 Employed not new (4) 9 Precise (5) 10 Torture (7)
- 11 Workers' dining room (5,7) 13 Coarse (B)
- Collision (c 17 Member of church governed by elders (12)
- 20 Hard varnish (7) 21 Fool (5) 22 World's longest river (4)

23 Colourless gas

Down

1 Intense (4) 2 Race official gets car going 3 Unexpectedly (3.2.3.4)

4 Spot -- poster

6 View (5)

. 7 Set off (B)

Last week's solution TOWEROVER PESSON OF TABLESON O

Bridge Zia Mahmood

want a rope to hang on to. The

overall effect is a sort of obses-

sively tidy gardening of the mountain sides, in great con-trast to the wild, jagged anarchy of the ridges and peaks soaring

With the flowers come the but

aries and tortoise shells, even at

altitudes above the tree line. In

the scree, the loose stone glaciers

live highly specialised plants and

that flow from the crags above,

The cliffs above Oberbargli

are home to a colony of alpine

choughs. These smaller mem-

bers of the crow family, with

black plumage, red legs and

buttercup yellow beaks, swirl

in ragged aerial ganga. The

choughs call with a strange

taking world they inhabit.

trilling that seems to both cele-

brate and challenge the breath-

From a scattering of apruce,

uniper and dwarf mugo pines

that have found purchase on a

tiniest bird in Europe's most

magnificent landscape. Some

animale

terflies: clouded yellows, fritil-

THE Complete Book Of Bols Bridge Tips, edited by Sally Brock and published by the Chess and Bridge Centre, contains advice from the world's best players that can be easily understood and applied by everyone from beginner to expert. The title, alas, is accurate, for the Bols liqueur company that sponsored the Tips over a period of more than 20 years will do so no

Swedish international Per-Olof Sundelin provided a Bols tip that was used to good effect in the recent EBU Brighton Congress, Its victim was no less a player than the great John Collings - but, as you'll see, the defence could succeed only because declarer was a first-rank performer. Take John's cards as South in four spade's:

apades.
◆ AJ 1094
₩ 63
♦ 7 • A7653
Q82 ♥ K75

♦ AK64 ♣ Q'92 You have bid the hand well the opening lead: INT Pass 2 (0) Pass

Pass Pass A Iransfer bid, showing spades West leads a diamond to East's

ine king of diamonds, discarding heart from dummy, and run the eight of spades to East's king, East plays a heart, on which you try the king, but this loses to West's ace. West continues with the jack of hearts, which you ruff in dummy. Needing to avoid more than one loser in clubs, you lead the three of clubs from the table. East follows with the eight. How will you

John Collings did not believe that East would find it easy to play low on dummy's club lead if he held the king. After all, this would cost a trick if South held Qx In clubs. So, playing for the club position to be something like:

◆A7653 **4** 10 8 ♣ KJ4 ♣ Q92

protect South's king of hearts from | he covered East's eight of club with the nine. West would win with the jack, but Collings would later cross to hand with the queen of spacies and run the queen of clubs pinning East's ten and making his contract by a brilliant intra finesse". Alas for John, this was the full deal: North

	♣ AJ 1094 ♥63 ♦7 ♣A7653
West ♦765 ♥AJ104 ♦J983 ♠J4	
	South ♠ Q82 ♥ K75
2 10	♦ AK64 • Q92
	abels.

John lost two club trump control to end four down is

NUMBER of British clubs | cause Kosice's own ground is being started their campaign for Eurorefurbished. United grabbed three ean glory last week. Newcastle against their European opponents, inited and Manchester United defenders Denis Irwin getting his first for more than a year and Hen-

tere in action in the Champions league while Chelsea and Kil-Jarnock took on their European allengers in the Cup Winners up. Six other teams were engaged the first leg of the opening round the enlarged Uefa Cup. Two of them, Celtic and Liverpool, played tach other in the competition.

Newcastle, playing one of the most important matches in the sitting ducks refused to lie down this history, produced the most and conceded only two goals. iting Barceloni at St James' Park. The mercurial bian, Faustino Asprilla, was Magpies' hero. He buried utes for two bookable offences as Barcelona in a hat-trick of goals in Nice beat them 3-1. he 22nd, 30th and 48th minutes. The visitors fought their way

ack into the game with two goals, second coming two minutes m time. But Asprilla's third med a goal too far for the Spanish

mly 80, but everyone of the play-is is a liero. They are all equally

ning Berg his first since joining United from Blackburn Rovers earlier this season. The third came from Andy Cole three minutes from Chelsea turned Stamford Bridge into a shooting gallery against Slovan Bratislava, their final tally being 29 attempts on goal. But the visiting

time on the Côte d'Azure, having Martin Baker sent off after 73 min-

Billed as the Battle of Britain although several of the players in both teams were from overseas the Parkhead match between Celtic and Liverpool was a classic clash:

Steve McManaman grabbed a wonder goal for the Merseyside alanager Kenny Dalglish said: | club two minutes from time to deny no will get all the headlines and the Scots victory. The England star was well inside his own half when Apportant because they went out Celtic defence before coolly curling

the score was levelled by Jackie McNamara in the 53rd minute. In other Uefa matches, PAOK Saonika defeated Arsenal 1-0. The one-goal deficit going into the High-

pool's first in the sixth minute bu

bury leg gives the Gunners' manager Arsene Wenger cause for In Madrid, Leicester's coura-

geous attempt to pull off one of the most startling victories in the history of European football was foiled by a late revival of Atletico Madrid skill, which brought the Spanish side two goals in three minutes of the second half to beat the visiting English side 2-1.

Rangers also found themselves Racing Club Strasbourg 2-1. But the margin makes them favourites t reach the second round. The game between Bordeaux and Aston Villa ended as a goalless draw.

DAMON HILL signed a two-year contract, believed to be worth around \$8 million a season, to drive for Jordan from 1998. The world champion's move to Eddle Jordan's Silverstone-based outfit of Eddle Jordan follows Arrow's decision to replace him with Mika Salo of Finland. Jordan have yet to win a grand his game contract
Per-Olof's Bols tip, which has been united were also in applied to such effect; was simply colscoring form against Slovakian "If you can't see yourself believe hand earlier looked to have sealed victory from the penalty spot after the contract by winning the lock has been up with Michael Sohuting and the look place be the match took place be true to pull down the match took place be the match took place be to have sealed victory from the penalty spot after the match took place be the match took place be the match took place be to have sealed to have sealed victory from the penalty spot after the penalty spot after the penalty spot after the match took place be the match took place be to have sealed to have sealed victory from the penalty spot after the

Football results

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP: Aston Vila 2. Derby County 1; Botton Wanderers O, Manchester United O; Chelsea 2. Arsenal 3; Everton 4, Bamsley 2; Leeds United O, Lelcaster City 1; Sheffeld Wed O, Coventry City O, Southampton 1, Liverpool 1; Totternham Hotspur O, Blackbourn Rovers O, West Hern United O, Newcestle United 1; Wimbledon O, Crystal Palace 1; Liverpool 3, Aston Villa O. NATIONWIDE LEAGUE

Charlton Ones
Charlton 4, Bradford C 1; Crewe 2, OPR 3;
Ipswich 2, Stoke 3; Man City 1, Norwich 2;
Middlesbro 3, Birminghrm 1; Notim For 1,
Portsmith 0; Oxford 2, Shelf Utd 4; Port Vale 1,
Bury 1; Stockport 3, Huddlersfid 0; Sunderind
1, Wolves 1; Tranmere 6, Reading 0; WBA 0,

Division Two:
Blackpool 2, Oktham 2; Bristol City 1,
Bournemin 1; Burnley 1, Preston 1; Carilele 2,
Plymouth 2; Chesteriid 0, Bristol R 0;
Qlingham 2, Wattord 2; Greeby 0, Willwell 1;
Luton 2, Wrighten 6; Northmolin 1; Wigan 0;
Southand 1, Fulbarn 0; Walsel 2, York 0,

Division Three:
Bernet Q, So'thorpe 1; Derington 1, Hartlepool
1; Doncester Q, Cambridge Q; Exeter 3.
Rotherham 1; Lincoln 1, Caroliff Q; Mansfield 4,
Chester 1; Peterboro 2, Leyton O 0; Rochdele
2, Hull 1; Scarboro 2, Macdeeffd 1; Shrewsbry
1 hable Co 2; Supnase Q Carolinater 1: 1, Notis Co 2; Swensea 0, Colchester 1; Torquay 3, Erighton 0.

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE Premier Division:
Cette 2, Aberdeen 0; Dunfmine 1, Klimarnoci
1; Hearls 2, Dundee U 1; Motherwell 1,
Hibernian 1; St Johnsto 0, Rangará 2. First Division

Ayr 1, Raith 0; Dundee 0, Hamilton 2; Felklik 3, St Minen 1; Partick 2, Morton 1; Sitzing A 0, Alrote 0. Clydebank 1, Steinhamr 0; Clyde 1, Brechin 1; East Rife 2, Livingation 3; Forfar 3, Strantaer 1; Queen Sth 2, Inversess C.

Third Divisions Albion 2, Alba 1: Arbroath 2, Dumbarton 1;

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